published monthly since 1866

The Fortnightly

FOUNDED IN 1865 BY ANTHONY TROLLOPE

OCTOBER, 1950 MVI N.S.

Illinois U Library

CONTENTS

THE CULT OF THE COMMONWEALTH I. MYTH OR REALITY	J. H. HUIZINGA
THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC	ROBERT POWELL
THE RETURN OF THE AUSTRIAN PROBLEM	EDWARD McCABE
UNION IN ASIA	WERNER LEVI
THE BENEVOLENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS	NORMAN BENTWICH
THROUGH THE EYE OF NIGHT'S NEEDLE —*A Poem*	IRIS BIRTWISTLE
UNITY IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION	WILLIAM F. RUSSELL
SOUTH LIMBURG—*A Poem*	J. T. BROCKWAY
A CENTRAL PARISH CHURCH	A. M. COOK
OLD FAMILIES—*A Poem*	FREDA C. BOND
G.B.S., G.K.C. AND PARADOX	A. N. GILKES
The Fortnightly Library :	
ZIONISM AND THE REPUBLIC OF ISRAEL	OWEN TWEEDY

Other Contributors : R. M. Graves, W. T. Wells, M.P., Walter James, Peter Stubbs, John Halet, G. F. Mc Cleary, Sylva Norman, Patric Dickinson, Joseph Braddock, Grace Banyard.

PRICE 3S. 6D. or U.S.A. 55 CENTS CANADA 60 CENTS

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

42S. PER ANNUM or U.S.A. $6.50 CANADA $7.00

ALL CLASSES OF INSURANCE TRANSACTED

CAR & GENERAL
INSURANCE CORPORATION LIMITED
83, PALL MALL, LONDON, S.W.1.

. . . it was a very interesting talk. I read it afterwards in

The Listener

BROADCAST TALKS YOU HEARD
AND TALKS YOU MISSED

A BBC PUBLICATION · EVERY THURSDAY 3d.

THE FORTNIGHTLY

OCTOBER 1950

THE CULT OF THE COMMONWEALTH

I : MYTH OR REALITY ?

BY J. H. HUIZINGA

EVER since the movement for European Union got under way, a great deal has been heard of Britain's special ties with her sister-nations of the Commonwealth. But what are these mysterious links, what exactly is this Commonwealth ? Its members are, of course, fully independent sovereign States. Hence one might well feel that the term ' commonwealth ' itself is a misnomer and as such at least partly responsible for much of the confusion that exists on this subject. For if constitutional terms are to have any meaning a group of sovereign States recognizing no central authority of any sort can hardly be accurately described by the same word as, for example, the Australian provinces which have grouped themselves in the centralized federation properly known as the Commonwealth of Australia.

Not only, however, is the British group no commonwealth in the generally accepted constitutional sense of the term, it is not even a group of nations which practise the functional approach to international co-operation. In that respect the powers which have concluded the pact of Brussels and the Atlantic Pact could lay far better claim to having set up a commonwealth than Britain and the Dominions. The former possess at least that most elementary attribute of a commonwealth, a system of collective security, whereas in the British group the formal commitments which that entails exist only between England and Ceylon and between Australia and New Zealand. In so far as Canada has any obligations to come to the support of Britain they arise, not out of her membership of the Commonwealth, but only from her adherence to the Atlantic Pact. India never misses an opportunity to stress the fact that she strictly refuses to take sides in the cold war in which Britain is so deeply involved. Likewise Australia, New Zealand and South Africa remain formally, though perhaps not in spirit, entirely uncommitted. And not only do the members of the Commonwealth show themselves determined to keep their hands free where war and peace are concerned, there is equally no question of a common front in less vital

matters of foreign policy. To give but one example : at last year's unofficial Commonwealth Conference in Canada, the delegates, so the English representative and leading Conservative politician R. A. Butler reported to *The Times*, " did not readily fall in with the proposal that the Commonwealth representatives should concert their speeches and policies before taking part in the debates in the (UNO) assembly."

No less striking is the almost complete absence of any formal co-ordination in the field of defence. In the Commonwealth there is no joint military planning organization and no military headquarters such as the signatories of the Brussels Pact have set up at Fontainebleau. Nor have there ever been any common fleet or air manoeuvres like the Western Union powers organized last year. And the reason for this total lack of functional integration in the Commonwealth is, of course, that its sovereign nations refuse to contemplate the sacrifices of freedom of action which such integration entails. That was again confirmed as recently as September of last year when a correspondent of *The Observer*, who was attending the unofficial conference referred to above, reported to his paper "that the general sense was firmly opposed to any attempt at integrated Commonwealth authority in either the political, economic or military sphere ; the much cherished idea of a Commonwealth General Staff seemed to be finally buried. . . . U.K. representatives made one attempt to lure the Canadians into fuller military commitments but met firm resistance." In this connection it may be recalled that even as late as the summer of 1939, immediately before the outbreak of a war which then had become manifestly inevitable, Canada refused an English request for permission to set up R.A.F. training camps on her soil. To-day, too, with two exceptions, the members of the Commonwealth have granted the mother country no military facilities of any sort ; the only bases England possesses in the Commonwealth are Simonstown in South Africa, and Ceylon.

Much the same situation prevails in the economic sphere. There are a number of Commonwealth committees for the promotion of economic co-operation, but they have not even begun to attempt anything remotely comparable to the task of economic integration undertaken by the O.E.E.C. in Europe. Possibly the Australian initiative at the Colombo Conference, where it was proposed to develop a scheme for mutual economic aid primarily for the benefit of the Asiatic Dominions, may mark the beginning of a new era in this respect. For the time being, however, it remains true that the Commonwealth, in the words of Mr. Nicolas Mansergh, Professor of Commonwealth Relations at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, " has no common foreign, economic or defence policy . . . nor indeed aspires to one."

One might well wonder, therefore, in what way this much vaunted Commonwealth really differs from any other group of independent sovereign States, except in that many of its members seem even more reluctant than the older nations of the European family to exchange their relatively new freedom of action for the discipline of closer union. The stock British answer to that question is, of course, that in spite of the absence of all constitutional or functional links the British family nonetheless forms a real and very special unity owing to its " common values and ideals." Thus Lord Balfour, when he wrote in his famous Declaration of 1926 that " the Empire was not founded on negations, but depended essentially, if not formally, on positive ideals ; free institutions are its lifeblood, free co-operation is its instrument, peace, security and progress are among its objects." But apart from the fact that these ideals are not altogether unknown and uncherished in other parts of the democratic world, the well-known tensions existing between certain members of the Commonwealth and arising out of their violently conflicting conceptions of the rights of the coloured man, would make one a little doubtful as to the reality of this ideological cement which is supposed to hold them together. Far from being united by a common creed, Britain and South Africa pursue radically different policies in the Dark Continent. In this vital field of native policy, too, there is a total absence of any co-ordination.

In this connection it must again be pointed out that the term ' commonwealth ', now the official description for the totality of the sovereign Dominions and what remains of imperial Britain, is highly misleading. For not only do the eight equal members of the club have no common institutions of any sort, not even a secretariat, but also there is no question of joint responsibility for those imperial remnants, the British colonies, every one of which is ultimately destined to become a member of the club. John Bull alone decides what qualifications are necessary, at what stage in their career candidate-members may be considered ripe for admission and by what means and on what principles their education for membership is to be conducted. He has initiated every one of his present partners and he does not intend to allow even the oldest among them to assist or advise him in any way in the training for self-government of such neophytes as still remain to be initiated. In one respect only could the Dominions perhaps be said to exercise some direct influence on developments in Britain's colonial empire. If England wants to keep the club together it must obviously be careful not to give offence to its dark-skinned members by appearing reluctant to declare their protégés ripe for emancipation from British tutelage. Thus it seems to be in the very nature of the process by which the British Empire has dissolved into a club of equals that the pace

of dissolution must grow ever faster. For as the club's membership grows and as, in particular, its racial composition alters, its founder and head of the old school is put under even heavier pressure to grant graduation degrees to his few remaining wards, the implication being that only by doing so can he hope to retain the façade of the Commonwealth which he has received in exchange for the substance of his former Empire.

It would seem fair to say, then, that this Commonwealth appears in fact to be no more than an old boys' association without an executive committee, a statute, or a programme of concerted action and whose independent-spirited, self-willed members presided over—though only in the position of *primus inter pares*—by their former tutor, recognize no other obligations towards one another than may be prompted by the heart or by considerations of far-sighted self-interest. Apart from the ties of blood linking some members of the association and the familiarity—which breeds contempt as well as friendship—inherited from the days when they were all at school together, there is only one thing which distinguishes this very heterogeneous gathering of sovereign nations from any other. And that is that they have been remarkably successful in passing themselves off as something which they manifestly are not : a political entity whose component parts may claim the right to accord one another tariff preferences regardless of the most favoured nation clause.

But if this should seem perfectly fair comment to the foreign student of the Commonwealth, woe betide him if he should ever have the gall to confront the average Britisher with such disrespectful views. Contemporary British utterances about this devoutly cherished institution will soon teach him that the British themselves see it in a very different light. What appears to us to be merely an old boys' association is to such an authority as Sir Alfred Zimmern " a political system comprising within its borders one quarter of mankind . . . in political power and military strength . . . comparable only with the U.S." and which, according to a recent statement by Mr. Hore Belisha, " needs only to be developed to become even stronger than the U.S. or the U.S.S.R." While we may think that this club without an executive committee or a statute and which, in the words of Professor Mansergh, " has no common foreign, defence or economic policy nor indeed aspires to one," is hardly a model of tight organization, the *Economist* holds that " it is more closely knit than any other group of foreign nations." In fact, the prominent Tory front bencher R. A. Butler has not hesitated to claim that it might well provide " through its existing *structure* the *scaffolding* for a *system** of world order " or as another English writer, Lord Elton, has put it, " a nucleus of the eventual World State." Though we have been utterly unable to

* My italics.

discover any signs of such a structure Lord Altrincham, better known as Sir Edward Grigg, has assured us in a recent article in *Foreign Affairs* that "the multi-national polity of the British Commonwealth has hitherto been universally accepted as, in some real sense, a constitutional and organic whole," comparable with the U.S.S.R. (which we might well think a very different and infinitely stronger cup of tea) as they are " the only two existent polities in which nation States are united by constitutional links."

But where and what are these constitutional links ? According to the famous Balfour Declaration which might be regarded as the holy writ of the Commonwealth cult, the answer is to be found in the Crown. The members of the Commonwealth, it is stated there, are " autonomous communities . . . united by common allegiance to the Crown." Even, however, before India decided to replace this monarchical headgear with a republican bowler hat, the Crown did not really bind the nations of the Commonwealth together into an " organic whole " any more than the three Scandinavian nations are constitutionally linked by virtue of recognizing three different and entirely independent monarchs as heads of their respective States. For that is precisely the constitutional position prevailing within the Commonwealth ; its member-States each have their own king, the King of Britain, the King of New Zealand, etc., etc. And that these various kings, though embodied in one person, are every bit as independent of each other as are the three kings of Denmark, Sweden and Norway has never been shown more clearly than during the last war when George VI, then still acting as the King of Ireland, remained neutral while being involved in a life and death struggle as King of Britain. Just so would he have stayed neutral as the King of South Africa if half a dozen votes in the historic division that took place in the South African Parliament on the issue of war and peace, had gone the other way. Thus it is clear that the members of the Commonwealth are not " united in common allegiance to the Crown " and that the phrase has only a sentimental content. When, therefore, one found the arch priest of the cult, the late Lord Balfour, proclaiming in a spirit of reverent awe that the Commonwealth " defies classification and bears no real resemblance to any other political organization which now exists or has ever been tried ", one was tempted to retort rudely : you're telling us—for this Commonwealth of yours is no political organization at all but only a political myth.

The impression that there is a great deal of pure mysticism in British thinking and writing about the Commonwealth becomes all the stronger the more one studies the pronouncements of its devotees. No better example than the way in which Lord Altrincham in his book *The British Commonwealth* tries to justify the Ottawa system. He starts by stressing " the sovereign independence " of the Common-

wealth nations which he recognizes to be " as absolute in the economic as in the political sphere." He furthermore admits " that there is, it is true, no precedent elsewhere for the claim of a political system, containing several absolutely sovereign and independent governments, to be regarded as a coherent and indivisible entity by foreign powers." Yet he demands that these sovereign States shall nonetheless be treated as an " economic unit in its relations with other powers " and therefore entitled to ignore the most favoured nation clause, on the strength of the argument that otherwise the Commonwealth would not be " what its name implies." That is to say, he bases his claim that the Commonwealth must be accorded the economic privileges normally reserved in international law for the constituent parts of a State organization, on a dogma which he has himself disproved, to wit, that the Commonwealth simply *must* be what its name implies. He cannot bring himself to doubt its reality and sees the system of Imperial Preference as a crystallization of the intangible reality of the Commonwealth. Just as the Church has always known priests who have propagated the faith and the dogma of the Trinity in order to gain greater material riches for the Church and to strengthen its secular power, so there are priests of the Commonwealth-mystery who proclaim the dogma of the "Octinity" (to coin a horrid but indispensable word) in order to gain support for the religion of Ottawa.

Equally typical of the mystical character of British thinking about the Commonwealth is the way in which the practitioners of the cult, when challenged by the foreign infidel, seek refuge from logic in vague oracular phrases or in the curt rebuttal that there are certain things about the mystery which simply cannot be explained. " The Commonwealth ", Lord Altrincham writes, " is a new political conception . . . inexplicable in bygone terms and subversive of old ideas . . . like every new discovery in politics, or science or art." Membership, Lord Listowel, former Secretary of State for Burma, has stated, is to be regarded " as a priceless privilege granted only to those who deeply desire it and are conscious of its obligations " ; but when one asks what those obligations consist of even such an authority as Professor Mansergh is unable to tell us more than that it is " a sense of obligation that somehow or other continues to elude a definition." The essential feature of the Commonwealth, the same writer tells us, is its " faith in discussion ; . . . it is an international democracy." In the same mysterious vein the Prime Minister of New Zealand has defined dominion-status as being "independence plus". Even more striking, Mr. Mackenzie King once declared that the terms ' commonwealth ' and ' empire ' were synonymous and interchangeable, as if there were not a world of

difference between an old boys' association and a prep-school. Again, when R. A. Butler talks of the " structure " of the Commonwealth which could provide a " scaffolding " for a " system of world order " we are once more in the realm of pure mysticism where words have lost all their recognized content.

Finally, there is the glorification of certain very commonplace arrangements for consultation among the members of the Commonwealth as something very special, " peculiarly appropriate to the character of the British Commonwealth " as was said in an official communiqué of a few years ago. Thus Lord Altrincham solemnly teaches us that the periodical meetings of official Commonwealth representatives, which differ in no material way from any other international gathering and are only too often as barren of results, come under the heading of constitutional organization ; apart from the Crown " the only central constitutional organ possessed by the Empire ", he writes, " is the Imperial Conference." Thus most writers on the Commonwealth devote whole pages to an enthusiastic description of the " machinery " for permanent consultation between the Commonwealth nations, which in fact differs only from the ordinary diplomatic network in that the Commonwealth machinists are called High Commissioners whereas the members of the diplomatic corps are known as ambassadors or ministers.

(*The author is the London Correspondent of* Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant. *The second part of his article " From Cives Britannici to Fideles Britannici " will be published in the November number of* THE FORTNIGHTLY.)

THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

By Robert Powell

THE German Federal Republic recently celebrated its first anniversary, and the speeches which were then made indicated what everyone in West Germany had realized, namely, that despite all the problems which still awaited solution, the general position was far better than any political leader would have dared to prophesy on September 7, 1949, when the Bonn Parliament first met. This progress applied both to developments at home and to relations with the Allied occupying powers. There had been a large measure of social and economic consolidation and very many obstacles on the road to complete sovereignty and full co-operation with the western Democracies had been removed.

The limitations of the Occupation Statute still prevent the Federal Government from operating freely in foreign affairs and finance. But even before these words are in print it is probable that there will be a German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that the co-operation between Bonn and the three western capitals, in defence matters, will be very close. Already, the Germans are represented on many international bodies, the outstanding one being the Assembly of the Council of Europe. Further, their delegates attended the meetings at Strasbourg last August and participated in the discussions.

The confusion and uncertainty which prevailed one year ago have almost disappeared. German politicians were then talking about sovereignty and equal rights, but these seemed to be little more than pious hopes. To-day, such demands appear practicable. In fact, West Germany has reached the position where it is making the conditions on which it will co-operate politically, economically and militarily with the democratic world.

The day when the Allies could dictate to the Germans has gone by. Few foreign observers in Bonn would deny that this is a good thing. The Germans must now be allowed to run their own affairs if the Allies really believe what they say about democracy. Even after the highest praise has been given to the work of the Allied officials, who have carried through a very important but thankless task during the past five years, it must be admitted that the best laid schemes of an occupation, even if perfect in conception, often find only a limited response from the people whose land is occupied. Mistakes in

interpreting German psychology have led to some strange and unfruitful results in plans which on paper appeared ideal.

The relations between the Allied High Commission and Federal Government, speaking generally, have been far better than might have been expected in the difficult interim period between military government and full sovereignty. Even Chancellor Konrad Adenauer recently took occasion to thank the three High Commissioners for their understanding of this Republic's needs and told the German people that these men and their staffs had been representatives not only of their own States but also of German interests.

The rapid change in the position of the Federal Republic in international affairs has naturally been greatly helped by the deterioration in the world situation, particularly by the war in Korea and the communist threats from the Soviet Zone. It would, however, be unfair to maintain that the Allies have been influenced only by expediency in their dealings with the Germans. The establishment of a freely-elected democratic parliament and the transfer of control of most home affairs to the Federal and *Land* (state) authorities was begun long ago. It was a deliberate policy set down and acted upon as soon as general conditions here were normal. There have been some lapses on the part of the Allies, but the general line has never been abandoned.

Democratic forms of government have been established. But it is still too early to state emphatically that the democratic way of life will prevail in West Germany. Or, if it does, it is hardly likely to be just a replica of the democratic idea as interpreted in Britain, or the U.S.A. or France. The principle of leadership is too deeply engrained in the German people for that to happen. One of the great tragedies of modern German history has been that opportunities for developing democracy have so often been in conditions which make it even harder to accept. These opportunities have come after great national defeats, as in 1918 and 1945, and have been accompanied by economic catastrophes. Democracy has also been seen as the foreign innovation of an occupying power, which has to be appeased, either because it is in control or because of the advantages which acceptance brings with it.

To-day, one idea which is firmly fixed and ready to be acted upon in West Germany is that of European unity. Germans, of all shades of political opinion and of all sections of the population, realize that only in the wider framework can their problems be properly solved. The man one meets in the tramcar or doing repairs to one's house will soon begin tirades against his own Government or against the Allies, but he never condemns the opponent who argues for this continental co-operation. It is gratifying to see how students support this conception, not only in conferences but also in private conversa-

tion. European unity is, to-day, the one idea which the German clings to for his salvation, politically and economically, and which gets his moral support.

Naturally, it will be said that this is because a weak Germany can only hope by this means to become strong again. There is sense in this point of view but it is not the whole truth. The Federal Parliament, it will be recalled, last session approved a law which would grant far-reaching concessions in national sovereignty to any European entity and this law only restated more explicitly what is already laid down in the Federal Constitution.

The Bonn Parliament has just ended a year of work within the shadow of the Occupation Statute. The Parliament House has been dominated mentally as well as physically by the Petersberg—the headquarters of the High Commission. This will soon be very much changed. Hitherto, this state of affairs has hindered political development along democratic lines. One obvious result of this relationship has been that the Federal Parliament has been unable to control those affairs which have been the joint concern of the occupying authorities. These were among the most important during the past twelve months, and included all that came under the wide term " foreign affairs ". There was no Foreign Minister, and this work was undertaken, on the German side, by the Chancellor. Nobody could deny that this was a difficult task and that Dr. Adenauer has achieved many successes. But it has also given him the opportunity of riding roughshod not only over the Federal Parliament but also over his own Cabinet. In this way, the authority of the young legislature has been decreased rather than increased at a time when it required all the psychological help it could get.

The Chancellor has dominated this parliament in a manner which few could call democratic. Fundamental issues have been decided without even his Cabinet being informed beforehand. He has expected Parliament to accept such decisions almost without comment. An outstanding example of this kind of treatment was the way in which Dr. Adenauer dealt with the Petersberg Agreement he made with the Allied High Commission last autumn. This carried far reaching consequences for the Federal Republic. Some of them were greatly to its advantage, as, for example, the virtual ending of dismantling. But from the democratic standpoint it was disastrous that he should have definitely refused to allow a vote of approval to be taken in Parliament, despite the strong feelings on the matter both in his own coalition Government and among the Opposition. A bitter personal debate ensued, on a non-confidence motion by the Social Democrats, in which personalities rather than principles were the most marked feature. Here was an occasion where the Allied High Commission, had it been as interested in fostering democratic

government in Germany as in getting its Agreement, could have tactfully indicated to the Chancellor that whatever the purely legal aspects of the case, the Agreement should have had parliamentary approval.

Another, and more recent, illustration of the same kind of autocratic attitude resulted in the rift between Dr. Adenauer and his Minister of the Interior, Dr. Gustav Heinemann. Although the subject fell within the competence of his ministry, Dr. Heinemann declared that he had not been consulted beforehand on the memorandum which the Chancellor presented to the High Commission about the new police force to deal with subversive communist activities. The latter's defence that he had little time to give more than verbal information found little support even in his own party ; especially since the Cabinet had complained only a few weeks earlier about the Chancellor's cavalier treatment of its members over the Paris negotiations on the Schuman Plan. The reverse side of this matter shows the weakness of the Cabinet Ministers, of whom Dr. Heinemann and Herr Jakob Kaiser, Minister for All-German Affairs, have been the only two with the moral courage to stand up for their convictions in this important issue.

The significance of this dictatorial attitude of the Chancellor is all the greater in view of the fundamental problems which now face the Federal Republic. One of the chief of these is German rearmament. Dr. Adenauer has never made quite clear, in the numerous press interviews he has given, what he really stands for—a new German military force or only a police force. One interview gives one impression, the next another. Yet, this is important, since at the moment the mass of the people are definitely against remilitarization. Even if only a police force is established, very much will depend upon who are in control of it—military-minded generals of the old schools or civilian-minded officers. For this paramilitary organization will be the forerunner of an army or military contingent within a European army, unless two organizations are to be set up. Dr. Adenauer's leadership and influence may have more to do with making the " Fourth Reich " a bulwark of democracy or a new centre of militarism, than even he realizes.

Looking back over the past year of the German Parliament, it must also be pointed out that the Chancellor has had a difficult task in heading an unwieldy coalition against a united Social Democrat Opposition which has sometimes not seemed to have its feet on the ground. Yet, its leader, Dr. Kurt Schumacher, even though he has been subjected to personal attacks as much as Dr. Adenauer, has been the defender of democratic rights in the assembly. Without such a lively Opposition, Bonn would not always be reminded of the fact

that the politicians here are representatives of the electorate and here to guard the electorate's rights and privileges.

The present Parliament has done something worth recording in presenting a balanced budget, even though this was five months delayed because of differences between the federal and state governments. It has been well said that the *Bund* is poor, whereas many of the individual *Laender* are comparatively rich. The latter carefully watch over their own revenues and see to it that not one pfennig more reaches the central exchequer than can be squeezed out of them. They make full use of the federative privileges which the constitution gives them. Some of the *Laender* are also very unwilling to bear their share in the distribution of burdens resulting from the unequal and heavy expenditure which others, like Schleswig-Holstein, have to carry because of their high percentage of refugees from the east or from Sudetenland.

These millions of refugees still present one of the most serious political and economic problems for the Federal Republic. In Schleswig-Holstein they hold the key to control of the state government, and if they ever become properly organized throughout the country they will be a force which cannot be ignored. The conditions under which so many of them still live, or just exist, their failure to be absorbed into the ranks of the employed, as well as the extreme political views which some of them hold, prevent the development of a new German communal life in many parts of the country. This problem of the refugees, which the Germans do not hesitate to stress is the result of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, is so immense that only international action can tackle it. (The " displaced persons " who were brought here by the Nazis and refuse to return to homes now under communist control are a separate problem.)

In addition to the Lower House of Parliament (*Bundestag*), there is also the Senate (*Bundesrat*). This latter is made up of the Minister-Presidents and Ministers from the eleven states; there are 43 members, among them those of West Berlin, which also has members in the Lower House. The Senate meets in secret, and though it can protest against any draft laws sent to it, to the present it has not vetoed any bill. Nor has the Senate made any use of its powers whereby it can demand, within two weeks, that a joint committee of the two Houses should be appointed for common deliberations on any law presented to it. Unfortunately, the Senate follows very closely the decisions of the state (*Land*) governments. There are no individual members, as in the House of Lords, who are free and able to treat issues on their merit, from the viewpoint of " elder statesmen ". The general public hardly seem to realize that this institution exists, and certainly could not tell you what are its functions.

The President of the Republic, Dr. Theodor Heuss, also has very

little to say. His powers are greatly restricted, and those of the Chancellor considerably increased in the Bonn Constitution—as compared with the relative powers of these high offices in the Weimar Constitution. Dr. Heuss is widely-known as a democrat, highly respected for his personal integrity and intellectual and political background. But he can be little more than a moral force under present conditions. However, he has definitely established himself as a head of the State who stands above political parties and has thus created an important precedent.

The Lower House, with the Chancellor dominating it, to-day governs the Federal Republic. Its prestige is higher than it was one year ago. But it still has to become a real institution to most of the electorate. During the past year 158 legislative drafts were presented, but only 76 became law. Sixty of these came from the Coalition Government and 16 from the other parties. Another 76 drafts have still to be considered.

Law-making is a slow process in the Federal Parliament. It begins with the Government, or the Senate, or one of the political parties having an idea. A draft is worked out. This takes many weeks. The Federal Government submits this draft (unless it comes from the Senate itself) to the Senate, which has 21 days in which to reach a decision. The matter is dealt with in technical commissions, then it goes to the state governments which give their opinion. Only after this is known, is a decision taken in full session. Should it be a bill from the Senate, then the Federal Government will present this to Parliament, but only when it considers the time appropriate. There is no time limit fixed. Parliament will then deal with these various drafts, in a first reading, but at a time decided upon by the *Aeltestenrat* (Committee of Elders) in which all political parties are represented. During the meeting on the first reading of the bill, each political party gives its political opinion. Then it goes to a committee of technical experts where amendments can be presented. After this, the findings are presented to parliament; then follows a new discussion by the individual parties, and the second and third readings. The bill only becomes law after the approval of the Senate. Further, the Allied High Commission has 21 days in which to decide whether the new law contravenes the Occupation Statute or any other Allied decree.

This long-drawn-out procedure is intended to prevent any one group of interests introducing measures harmful to other groups, or the Federal authority working against the interests of any individual *Land* (state). The work done in committees in Bonn appears to be even greater than that in other democratic parliaments. It is especially complicated and prolonged because of the care with which the *Laender* watch that none of their powers is usurped by the *Bund*.

To-day, however, general attention, both of the politicians and the public, is directed to what can be done to deal with the increased subversive communist activities. The Federal Government has control only over West Germany. In the so-called German Democratic Republic of the Soviet Zone, quite other conditions prevail, and its communist rulers are busy with propaganda sheets, threats of strikes, and so on aimed at undermining the morale of West Berlin and West Germany.

In order to counteract this work, much more drastic measures will have to be taken. It is necessary to build up the special police force, which the Allies are now asked to approve and the ordinary police force in West Germany must be purged of uncertain elements ; a new confidence must be given to the ordinary individual. Not only in the frontier districts, but in most towns throughout the Federal Republic, an atmosphere of despondency and despair was noticeable at the beginning of the Korean War. And it still remains, though less intense than it was in July. To combat this, most German leaders maintain that the only effective move would be to increase the strength of Allied troops, especially along frontiers shared with the Soviet Zone. This, it is argued, will provide the wall behind which West German morale can be gradually reinforced.

Whatever the developments in the international sphere the Republic will continue to look fearfully toward the east. Its internal problems will be considered in the light of whether it is possible to believe in a future free from communist agitation, if not communist domination.

(*The author, who has lived many years in Germany both before and after the* 1939-1945 *war, writes from Bonn.*)

THE RETURN OF THE AUSTRIAN PROBLEM

By Edward McCabe

I.

AUSTRIA has suffered at many hands, but not least from those who have written about her. Here is a country that can be presented to readers just as the customers like it—splashes of colour, strong contrasts, quaintness and venerableness, all served with the sauce of sentiment. Austrians, who after all have lived through more drama than we have, seem to feel more the need for sentiment. They have also observed that the lore of their country finds a readier market when it is given an emotional appeal, and that the world responds eagerly to the touch of nature. The stories and scenes of this country are not only the solace of its own inhabitants, but also its 'invisible' exports; the Austrians have turned their pleasure into their profit.

The treaty-makers at Saint Germain in 1919 must have been fortified amid their anxieties by the idea that they were making Austria into a Ruritania. The landscape belongs to romantic fiction: beetling cliffs, fantastic rock-masses, col and valley, castles that are like eyries, secluded villages and homesteads. Hunger has driven the inhabitants to achieve miracles in developing the mountain-sides; but their energy only emphasizes the ungraciousness of the soil. The truth is that, in the main, Austria is now an area of mountain passes that happen to command the routes between the parts of Europe that matter. In addition, she was awarded a modest demesne of farm land on the north-eastern flank of the mountains. The Danube that ought to be bringing life into Austria is at present a melancholy sight.

It would appear that nature intended Austria to have only a poor agricultural economy. From a farmer's point of view, the small farms, each usually less than ten acres, are worked in a manner wasteful both in labour and in land. Against that, a large population is supported in a way of life that has traditional consolations, including some notions of social justice that are old but worthy of respect. Within the peasant class there are considerable economic differences and the lowest levels are miserably poor, so poor that in the 'thirties they organized political agitation. A slow drift from the land to the

towns has taken place within the last hundred years, the period of Austria's industrial development. Modern technocracy has not been content to drain away the manpower of the countryside ; it has itself invaded the land, and the disorderly army of pylons, straggling across the landscape, are some of its forces. One notices that individual farmers, as well as peasant co-operatives, possess tractors. The use of chemical fertilizers is increasing.

Austria does, of course, have its industries, in the usual sense of the word : the oil that is now a source of contention ; steel-making in Linz and Styria ; the great timber industry, carried on by many small firms of sawyers, and the related paper industry ; glass, leather and chemicals. The economic situation might fairly be viewed as a contest between, on the one hand, unpromising natural resources and on the other, technology ; with the returns from tourists to bridge the gap in the national budget. That, however, is to reckon without Vienna.

Ruritania, with its six and a half million inhabitants, was given in Vienna an outsize in capital cities, an ant-heap of almost two million citizens. A comparable effect would be obtained by annexing Birmingham to Eire. The prime fact about Vienna to-day is that the bulk of the great population forms a proletariat. Germanophiles, who obviously are especially articulate, like to think that Vienna is a Germanic city and that the proletariat is a Germanic one. The contrary facts are the surprising frequency of Slavonic and other non-German names, and also the broken German that was not uncommon before, as well as after, the occupation. Admittedly, on these racial frontiers the intermingling of races has been a complicated affair ; Czech nationalist leaders, such as Rieger, have had German origins ; Germans have sojourned in Bohemia or Hungary so long that they end up in Vienna, in all seeming as Czechs or Hungarians. Admittedly, too, the dumb Slav masses have been edging westwards for centuries. If the main stock in Vienna were not native German one would have to postulate a conversion in modern times more successful even than the American ' experiment '. And of that of course, there is no trace.

The majority of Viennese workers have simple needs ; their manners and tastes derive recognizably from an older world. They are probably less radical than, say, Frenchmen or Scotsmen. The possibility that for all Vienna's ' redness ', the stage of their social development is still not far removed from that of bondmen is given some colour by the immaturity of their Socialism ; also by the natural way they turn to hard manual labour and to the land. Vienna is encircled by a deep belt of gardens, and goats stray about the streets of the smart suburbs. The only explanation that seems to cover all these assorted facts has for us an element of surprise. Here is a

large working population who are mainly German but they are not particularly conscious of their race ; by Austrian standards, they have been emancipated and the infrequency of labour troubles suggests that for the moment they are either content or realistic.

New strains have been added to the original worker-stock by the social revolution of the last hundred years ; the technicians, the celebrated civil servants, the *petite noblesse* who must have swarmed in the old Empire, the professional classes, many of the Jews—in sum, the upper and middle classes of the nineteenth century practically all now earn low wages. These brought with them their Germanic enlightenment. They throng the foyers of the opera or the concert-hall most nights of the year.

An interesting cross-development has taken place as a result of social legislation ; there is an urge to qualify for the overcrowded professional classes and Austria must have a record proportion of doctorates to population. These scholars are usually immature, starveling too occasionally, and may take on a socialistic tinge. Many of them, particularly the medical men, are going out to employment in all parts of the world ; there is something incongruous in the idea of an Indian or Middle-Eastern background for these innocent Austrian doctors. Many more still struggle on at home and one finds nursemaids who are said to be doctors of philosophy. The new, impoverished and semi-enlightened professional classes, recruited both from above and below, will, if given half a chance, determine the future of Austria ; as yet, however, youth lacks inspiration.

For the time being, the immediate need is to live. Most bread-winners are in the service of the overburdened State, some in capitalist enterprises, some in socialist public works; some work for the Occupation forces and others against them. The national labour force is protected by law from dilution from abroad, but very large numbers of Stateless persons have found employment, often as drudges. The new slavery is not the only anomaly in Austria ; an older instance is that of the tradesman or shopkeeper, medieval style, who exists side by side with the union member and who is harried by the police for breaking laws designed to protect him from himself. The organizing of economic life on any one political principle is still to be completed, as always happens in Austria. Vienna, in the meantime, has been turned into a labour pool that is skilled in serving immediate human needs and is very cheap. The teeming city is hoping to serve tourists again. It was built up to provide services and to be an *entrepôt* ; it cannot turn over to the production of goods. For the Austrians cannot now plan their economy, they can only humour it.

It is clear that the calculation behind this economy, if it is made at

all, is somewhat fine ; the Vienna labour pool, applied science, and Austria as a draw for tourists are to be set against raw materials that are scarcely sufficient for landward Austria. Vienna should have brought on this country the fate of the Republic of Venice. History suggests that since 1918 that has indeed been happening. In 1922 and between 1929 and 1933 the economic system collapsed. On the second occasion, when it revived under the stimulus of a loan from the League of Nations, unemployment continued to increase. At the moment Austria has received 400 million dollars as her share of Marshall Aid ; since 1948 the figures for unemployment have risen to about 100,000, double the 1946 and 1947 averages, though well below the figure of 300,000 for 1933. Such forms of artificial respiration as E.R.P. bring their own economic difficulties. A further complication is that Austrian commerce can ply the traditional trade in the Balkan markets only under restrictions. Elsewhere, external trade is slowly recovering, but, even including E.R.P.'s monthly boost of about 120 million schillings (£1,700,000), there is still an adverse balance of trade. The partial recovery has interesting features. Since the war the exchange of goods with Italy has been unusually brisk and Austria has become for western Germany an important customer. Adversity is setting up an axis, not political as yet, but economic.

The final impression is that this economy is characterized by drift, speculation and, an unknown factor, Austria's part in the new European economy.

II.

Most of the people are not daunted by the economic difficulties. It would be nearer the truth to say they are self-possessed, if not irresponsible, and indeed there is little left to them to do but to think of things as ' hopeless but not serious.' In any case, this matter of livelihood is a question engaging the feelings as well as the purse, and emotional problems lie in the way of a solution of the economic difficulties.

Particularism is one of these problems. His province is, for the ordinary Austrian, the nexus of feelings that we can hardly understand. The root-cause for this attachment is a longing for security, the same longing that has built up the fortifications of grilles, bars, gates, double locks and the rest on the ground floor of most houses. The Austrian, thinking politically, regards the province of his origin in much the same way as his stronghold in the town, as a base. In his relaxation just as he exchanges town dress for the garb of his province, so he gives up, for the time being, the effort to be Austrian and thinks no further than the bounds of Tyrol or Salzburg. Most

people, including Jews, lay claim to some province and, such is the sense of what is natural, there are fewer stock jokes about false Carinthians or Styrians (who are nevertheless teased a little) than there are about pseudo-Scotsmen. Some make it a point of principle to use their *muttersprache* even when it is a barbarous-sounding dialect ; snobbery would in any case be at a disadvantage here for people as illustrious as Franz Josef have set the example.

This homing instinct has other, less desirable effects. The diversity of spiritual homes makes for rivalry between them. The Viennese are hated by all the others, but mutual dislike is also fairly strong and the general state of antipathy takes, when rationalized, some curious forms. The people of Graz look on the Viennese as foreigners ; Vorarlberg, adjoining Switzerland, admires that prosperous country, despises Tyrol and is not much struck on Austria ; Salzburg and Styria, which still considers itself a frontier, are pro-German ; while Carinthia has come to terms with the ancient Wendish influence and the Slovenes.

Natural obstacles to communication are the first cause of the differentiation between the provinces, but history finished what geography had begun. These provinces were treated by the impassive family who ruled them as chattels and until 1918 had not had the chance to participate in a single State. They are acknowledged in the federal constitution of 1920 as political units and have since shown a remarkable readiness to secede.

Contrariwise, since 1918 most Austrians have striven to think and to prove themselves a nation. The country has had the usual western development, from Roman province to nation-State ; but an overlong pause, the longest in Europe, was made at an intermediate stage. The same singularity—the word being used without prejudice—appears in matters of culture. Paulsen notably, but also others, have observed that, to begin with, the Renaissance took in Austria the usual course, the connoisseurship of prelates passing into the zeal of professors, but from the second quarter of the sixteenth century the humanists and the Protestants were opposed with increasing obduracy, as if the genius of the place had repented that for a moment it had been volatile. A revolution was all the same under way and the Jesuits were summoned in 1551 by Ferdinand I, though with misgivings. The policy of Peter Canisius and his colleagues, which was to make a synthesis of the new with the old, was successful in containing the forces of spiritual subversion.

One might select the year 1627 out of many marking a new partnership of civil and religious ideas; in the year in which together they wound up the Bohemian affair, Ferdinand II dedicated the church of the Jesuits in the Universitaetsplatz. This Baroque church is a leading example of the cordon of similar churches and palaces in

Vienna that were built or altered under the inspiration of the counter-Reformation and stretch from Italy to Bavaria. For the next century and a half the genius of Austria in men like Fischer von Erlach was devoted to this art style. The old Christian faith, re-invigorated, was re-stated in the modern humanist idiom ; but with this vital difference that the versatility of man only pointed to the greater glory of God. Human attributes were like the grace found in a child. Of literature in this period there was nothing, except what is of interest to specialists; for literature draws out the latitudinarian in us, if not the rationalist. Officially the *Barockzeit* is long over. But a people who, by so reconciling opposites, have come near to mysticism, are given a set mind. The diehard conservatism of Austrian taste, their feeling for colour, the traditional elements in their daily life, their openmindedness, all seem to suggest that the Baroque attitude still exercises an influence.

Humanism did ultimately break into Austria. The breach was made by *Josefinismus*, the policy of Kaunitz and Joseph II, who remind us of Bentham, their English contemporary. During the nineteenth century two tides had passed through this gap ; in the first case, though the tidal wave was liberalism, the ensuing flood was romanticism, the same passionate idealism that had broached the German national spirit; in the second instance, it was Socialism, which in turn had slackened off as Christian democracy.

These radical ideas roused those, like the Jewish element, who saw no reason against developing the human personality to the limits. And to the ordinary Austrian the possibilities of development seemed to be infinite and breath-taking. These prospects had been inculcated in him mainly by the great historians and philosophers who give distinction to the middle period of modern German literature. In the philosophers, differing so much in their conclusions as did for example Fichte, Hegel and Nietzsche, he found a premiss common to all of them : that a new life of the mind is opening for the ordinary man but it is the Germans alone who have the capacity to explore it. Nor should it be forgotten that the monumental works of learning and speculation were presently existing to prove the culture of the German people. At the same time, their technical achievements and the success of *Machtpolitik* exacted admiration. There might be underneath a conflict between culture and materialism, as was foreseen by Goethe ; but that was not a pressing problem. Meanwhile the minds of German-speaking people were active and questing and caught up in a vision of a German nation that was both academy and curia to the rest of the world.

It is, however, noticeable in the Austrians that in academic matters they excel more in grammar than in invention, more in physical research than in philosophy. They resemble the Alexandrians

rather than the Athenians. Not until this century did they produce in Freud a thinker of the first rank and his influence has been on the side of disintegration and materialism. The Austrians have been too long in German leading strings. *Deutschtum* with them is not second-nature. Democratic Austria is a people, mainly peasant, who have suffered at the hands of history a compulsory and uncomprehended education.

Allowance being made for a foreigner's lack of sympathy, modern Austrian literature seems to corroborate this estimate. For instance, they themselves think highly of Grillparzer—" Austria's greatest poet, and at the same time, one of the most considerable poets in world-literature," says Wildgans. A non-Austrian and probably prejudiced reader is only reminded of Schiller and, in a less degree, of Goethe. Again, Hoffmansthal is a member of the school of Rilke and George but his distinctive Viennese and aristocratic point of view is always acknowledged. It is the professors, from the famous Rector of the ' March days ' of 1848 to the living Srbik and Nadler, who have preached the dogma of German unity and made it the prescription of salvation. Professors' theories are like the ' artifact ' in Hobbes, made to fortify men in the chaos of reality. In the nineteenth century the Austrians found in music the best expression of their outlook ; the propositions of music may have their own exactness but the intellect has greater freedom to wander than in other arts. It is in politics that the ambivalence of the Austrian attitude is clearly to be seen; as, for example, the contrast between the theory and practice of the Social Democrats between the wars or the vicissitudes in Austria's relations with Germany and Italy.

III.

If the topics discussed so far belong, as it seems, to the fringe of the Austrian problem, the next, the Church, does lie at the heart of the matter. Her influence on the Austrian character has been paramount. In the monasteries, such as Heiligenkreuz or Melk or Kremsmunster, one is conscious how venerable this institution is. The profundity of that influence is seen in other things besides buildings and depositories : in personal names, for example, in every-day speech and in the different traditions of daily life, in the holidays of the year and in the touch of spectacle so often seen outside the Church as well as inside. Most of all does it appear in the easy familiarity with the Church and the acceptance of it, as being in the natural order of things.

At other times, especially in the towns but also in the country, the impression that the work of the Church has hardly begun, is different and conflicting. The Austrians would appear to practise the Christian virtues no more and no less than any other people. To

judge from events in Vienna after 1938 and again in 1945, they may be given to backbiting and uncharitableness in a notable degree. Their courtesy is elaborate but their behaviour in public is individualistic ; here may be found the reason for the nagging done by the police. Again, we have recently realized that the religious education of the masses is, relatively, a modern development, marching in step with their slow rise to influence in the commonweal. Concerning Austria, two facts are relevant : the soil is, compared with the neighbouring Puszta, thankless ; also the Church had long been allied with the State and here, more than anywhere else, she still commits herself in politics. The combination of these facts worked, it is suggested, so as to delay effective measures for the proper religious instruction of ordinary people.

The Elementary Education Act of 1869, the first of its kind in any country, confirms rather than refutes this view; for, both by its earliness and by the way it was implemented, the Act marks a liberal dream of the enlightenment overnight of a backward people. The model in Austria for popular instruction has been the *Jesuitentheater*, that is, through the eye rather than through the ear, and not a good method for training in the higher criticism. Even to-day the countryside is rich in animistic legends and superstitions and if one is to understand the Church's difficulties and achievements, it should be remembered that in the Ostmark the Dark Ages are not so remote as they are in western Europe. The saying that in the nineteenth century the Church lost the workers and in the twentieth she will lose the peasants, obscures the real truth. To conform, when there is no alternative, is not the same as to assent ; an ever-increasing number of Austrians, but by no means most, now do assent, because they know better.

Further confirmation, both of the vulnerability of Catholicism in Catholic Austria and of the drawbacks in trying to be supra-national by being political, is to be found in one curious circumstance. In Vienna churches are full, except for some in the Innere Stadt, where they are concentrated round the former Court ; yet the authorities declare that only some 15 per cent. of the nominal Catholics are practising. Adequate provision for a city that has expanded steadily since the sixteenth century was not made. Another interesting indication of the hazards lying in the way of enlightenment in Austria is given by the Protestants. In 1781 Joseph II relaxed the ban on Protestantism and large numbers of the descendants of those who had been proscribed a hundred and fifty years before resumed their Protestantism. Their descendants, in their turn, basked for a short time in glory reflected from the Nazis. Though their number in modern times has not exceeded 350,000, they suggest something of the Austrian mentality, that strong animal spirits are at work, forces

not without their pleasant side. A similar earthiness may be seen in the liberties, privileges and even independence that persist within the administration of the Catholic Church, making unified action difficult ; it is rumoured that they form the background to the incident of Bishop Jachym. But the most striking circumstance of all is that no religious order has ever been founded in Catholic Austria. Since her return to Austria, more like a conqueror than a prophet, in the seventeenth century, the Church has been obliged to carry out her ' *mission civilisatrice* ' on the lines of French colonization.

In recent years the Church has had to deal with the new danger of modern ideas, perhaps the old Adam in disguise. Chief among these is Socialism. It seems to be true that no socialist leader has ever been prepared to claim that he was also a Christian. A kind of innocence surrounds Austrian Socialism ; the intellectuals have at bottom a starry-eyed belief in the perfectibility of man and the rank and file are happy with the slogans and the clubs and the processions, with the decorated lorries and bicycles. From the comfortable refuge of their socialist minds, they look out on the rest of the world with considerable naiveté ; such a socialist, speaking of his child who attends a convent school, remarked with satisfaction : " *Glaube* (faith) is good for a child." It has to be pointed out that, for all its rawness, Socialism under devoted leadership has had great achievements : for example, the reform of the conditions of labour, without much regard for economics, or the great *Gemeinde Wien*, a model of the municipal virtues, or, most important of all, the firm hold on the working people. These know that they have come to power and their bread-and-butter attitude is the second most powerful force in politics. The change in the political balance has not been lost on the Church. Most priests, including the Cardinal, come from ordinary homes. They work most conscientiously in their parishes, preaching and teaching assiduously and on the level of ordinary people. One hears of bishops blessing tractors. There are revolutionary proposals to set up apprentice schools in some of the declining monasteries. Catholic Action works hard with the laity and last summer there was a tremendous demonstration of Catholic youth in a torchlight procession.

That last touch of theatre tells its own tale. On the unspectacular side of Catholic Action young people are conspicuously absent. Vocations to the priesthood, particularly in the religious orders, are declining. Indifferentism is the rule among the laity one meets, though Russophobia can arouse a widespread but temporary fervour. Austria always had a bad record for illegitimacy, a dereliction that perhaps shocks Protestants more than Catholics. A growing number of young people after marriage continue to work and to be childless. Abortions are not uncommon. These disorders are,

however, endemic in every European society and here they may be over-stressed. On every opportunity given to them, even during Nazi times and the Godless movement (the mis-named *Gottgläubige*), some nine-tenths of the Austrians have declared themselves Catholics. The final impression is that most Austrians, after their fashion, are having the best of two worlds ; they take every ounce out of the world of the senses but they also hold an option on that of the spirit. The question is whether such money-changing practices will not bring the temple to the ground.

IV

The different forces that have been discussed converge, as one would expect, in politics. In Austria internal politics are not always to be taken seriously ; witness most of the passages of provincialism since 1918, or the way in which the public service is perverted to political ends. Where politics are radical and worthy of respect, then it is because foreign influences have breathed on them. It has been the lot of this country to be invaded regularly, both on the ground and in the spirit. For them the disabling factor has always been their economic weakness. Equally, history and the facts of the situation both go to show that Austria must always make some sort of merger or *anschluss* with other powers. Indeed, being aware of their own situation, they develop in the state of independence a bonhomie towards other nationals that is sometimes a trifle lush. They themselves consider their attitude cosmopolitan ; but, to an outsider, it is another illustration of the same habit, already noted, of standing by quietly while the foreigners fight over them. Their gift lies in managing to make out an existence while the question, whether they should exist, is still *sub judice*. Political parties in Austria are largely channels for foreign ideas and the internal politics of the country are for the most part a chain-reaction to the situation abroad.

The present effects of this xenophilia have a diverting as well as a grave aspect. The economy is to-day weighed down with corporative machinery ; at the same time it is being asked, and making a diminishing response to the demand, to support the services of a welfare State. To save themselves, the Austrians are hoping against any immediate hope for a European payments agreement and for the easing of trading difficulties in south-eastern Europe. As for the political parties, the *Volkspartei* incline, as Mgr. Seipel did before them, to a league with both powers in Italy, the Vatican and the civil Government.[1] But a splinter-party known as the Union of Independents has broken off from the *Volkspartei*. It might be said of them that they thrill to the thought of Germany ; some of them were Nazis. The socialists are in a particularly difficult position. In

practice their policy is ' gradualness ' and they are admirers of the British Labour Party. Because of the attitude of the Austrian socialists to religion, this association is not without embarrassment to both parties ; but that is nothing compared with being associated, as socialist theory would suggest, with the Russian ravishing and ravaging. Only a few socialists would push the victory of the workers to these lengths and they are joined with the small but forceful band of communists in the ' Left-Block '. The 1920 federal constitution, as amended in 1925 and 1929, has been restored. The books on constitutional theory were scanned to produce it and no effort was spared to forestall all possible dangers to a liberal way of life ; except one, the fact that the Austrians themselves have not been liberal long enough to be proof against the illiberalism of neighbours.

Generally speaking, the same imitativeness of foreign models characterizes the most recent literature ; touching which, Professor Nadler has written that republican Austria has not yet inspired a respectable work. Apparently, in art, Klimt, Schiele and Koukoschka have had imitators but no successors. Austrian music, in spite of Schönberg, clings still to the romantic tradition. So this people drifts moodily from the Austria of the past to the Europe of the present, and back again. Spiritually, there is no such entity as present-day Austria. The politician, the aristocrat, the cleric, the intellectual, the tourist-agent, the provincial—each speaks with feeling of some lost experience or of a private dream. The Austrians receive this or that idea with readiness but it has not been their fate to have the repose needed for original thought. And once again the impropriating foreigners are standing within the gates.

(*For two years the author has been Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Vienna.*)

UNION IN ASIA

By Werner Levi

AMONG the many schemes for political, economic, military and cultural co-operation in Asia advanced since the war, the most detailed proposal came from Presidents Syngman Rhee of South Korea, Chiang Kai-shek of China, and Elpidio Quirino of the Philippines early in 1949. In May Mr. Rhee proposed that a strong anti-communist military alliance be initiated before the communist tide " assumes proportions of an irrestistible flood." The logic of America's policy in the Atlantic required similar measures in the Pacific, he argued and regretted the absence of a clear American policy in the Pacific, which made it impossible for any nation in that area to rely on the United States, while Russia's intentions were quite clear. The pact envisaged by Mr. Rhee would embrace not only the non-communist countries of Asia (including Nationalist China) but also Australia, Canada, several Latin American countries, and eventually Japan. He continued to insist upon the inclusion of military arrangements even after it became evident that agreements for economic and cultural co-operation were easier to obtain. To him, a pact without military clauses was of no value.

Chiang Kai-shek was equally anxious for an anti-communist pact but apparently less adamant that it include military arrangements. In May 1949 the Chinese Ambassador, Wellington Koo, suggested to Secretary Acheson an Asian alliance similar to the Atlantic alliance ; but when Chiang Kai-shek visited the Philippines in July and South Korea in August, it was announced that he went to discuss the formation of a " non-military " Pacific front.

President Quirino has been most active in promoting a Pacific union. His goal has been less ambitious, presumably because he was given to understand that proposals for a military alliance aroused little enthusiasm in America or elsewhere. General Carlos P. Romulos has been inclined to consider a regional organization as a bridge between East and West. On leaving the New Delhi conference of Asian nations in January 1949 he expressed the belief that now an " Asian bloc " had filled the " vacuum " that the Soviet Union had wanted to occupy, and a month later he saw Asia as a "third force" in world politics. In April, less neutral, he spoke of a Pacific combination against Communism which would be not a military alliance

but a " non-aggression agreement predicated on the freedom of all the governments of the Pacific." The Philippine press, favouring neutrality, argued that such a pact would fall apart at the first push from a determined aggressor, leaving the Philippines and the United States to carry out their obligations alone. Nevertheless the Philippine Government continued to call on the United States to follow up the Atlantic treaty with economic assistance to the nations of Asia. A military alliance was not needed, said General Romulo, but American aid was required to raise standards of living as the best means of combating Communism.

The frigid American response to suggestions of a Pacific pact failed to cool President Quirino's ardour, although he knew that a pact without American participation would be of limited value. " If the United States won't take the initiative the Philippines will," he said, " in fact, we already have." This statement was made on the occasion of Chiang Kai-shek's arrival in the Philippines in July 1949. On the following day he and President Quirino in a joint statement invited interested nations to form a Pacific union, evidently hoping that once a union was created, the United States would view it with benevolence. Elpido Quirino observed that they had not asked the United States for anything but were simply making their own contribution to America's anti-communist campaign.

After this the Philippine Government, anxious to attract the support of the United States and India, sought to eliminate all aspects of the proposed union which might be unacceptable to these key countries. This incidentally made the project more palatable to the domestic political opposition, an important consideration in view of the impending election of November 1949. There could be no military treaty in the Pacific, General Romulo announced in July. Nationalist China and Japan were excluded from the proposed agreement, which was calculated to please the United States, India, Australia, and the internal opposition. The Philippine foreign office further drew attention to the fact that President Quirino's idea differed from Mr. Rhee's and General Chiang's by not being explicitly directed against Communism, a concession to India's desire for a neutral position. The non-military nature of the union was stressed in the widely publicized letter of instructions to General Romulo to visit several south-east Asian countries in August to sound them on the Pacific union idea. The emphasis was now on cultural and economic co-operation. Mr. Quirino spoke of the union as " an act of common faith on the economic, political, cultural level," and pointed out that " in the long run our strongest defence against totalitarian subversion would be in promoting a life of substance and contentment and promoting higher living standards among the Asian peoples."

President Quirino's visit to the United States coincided with this diplomatic campaign. Little information was revealed as to the content of his discussions with President Truman. A joint statement of August 11 expressed American sympathy with the goals of the free Asian nations but failed to give hope of American participation in a Pacific pact. There is reason to believe that Mr. Quirino was again urged to omit military considerations, Nationalist China, and possibly also South Korea.

The Rhee, Chiang, and Quirino proposals were presumably inspired by the fact that all three headed unpopular governments under internal or external threat from communists. They would benefit from a military pact against Communism, though unable to contribute much. Other governments of Asia, less concerned about Communism and feeling less seriously menaced, were inclined to give more weight to factors which made a Pacific pact appear less desirable.

One of these factors is the questionable advantage of working closely with the western powers, which are still widely regarded in Asia as exponents of colonialism. This has been an effective theme for communist propaganda, and in the minds of many Asians Russia symbolizes more substantial freedom than the west. Russia is credited with non-discrimination among its ethnic groups, while the " White Australian " policy and the American Negro problem make headlines in Asia. Russia, moreover, has risen in one generation from an under-developed, backward country to a first-class industrial power, thus realizing the dream of many Asian peoples. That this was achieved by police-State methods and at the expense of domestic welfare, if known at all, does not greatly antagonize people who have no experience of democratic freedoms and are accustomed to poverty.

Russian propaganda has succeeded in making anti-Communism equivalent to pro-imperialism in the minds of many Asians, largely by identifying Communism with nationalism. This makes it difficult to offer an alternative to Communism. And any government which collaborates too closely with a western state runs the risk of losing its standing with its own people and with other Asian nations. India and Pakistan made this clear in the autumn of 1949 when they indicated that they would not even consider a Pacific union so long as Indonesia remained unfree.

A second factor against a Pacific union in Asian minds is the fact that in whatever terms it was presented, it would inevitably be interpreted as a combination directed against the Soviet Union. Fear of Russian imperialism is the driving force behind agitation for a pact, and such proposals are consistently branded by Soviet propaganda as machinations of American imperialism. *Pravda*, for example, headlined its story on the Rhee-Chiang talks "Forging an Aggressive

Pact," and *Red Star* explained that the proposed Pacific pact was " intended to supplement the aggressive North Atlantic Union." Joining such a pact would in effect mean taking sides, and most Asian countries wish to delay that as long as possible. Some groups in Asia fear that even support of the United Nations action in Korea could, in the absence of Russia, be interpreted as taking a stand.

Any political commitment to either the Soviet Union or the United States would destroy the Asian nations' freedom of manoeuvre and, by linking their destinies irrevocably with those of the big powers, would impair the independence which they have just begun to enjoy. The Indonesian Consul General at Manila in August 1949 explained his country's unwillingness to enter an alliance on the ground that it was such a " young country ". And at about the same time a Burmese described the favoured policy of small countries anywhere when he said of his own that " as a small nation it is best that we be neutral." However, as the Korean affair shows, differences of opinion within Asian nations as well as external pressures make the pursuit of such a policy increasingly difficult.

The United States has been slow to develop a clear-cut policy in Asia. In May 1949 Secretary Acheson rejected the idea of a Pacific pact, agreeing with Pandit Nehru that before such a pact could be considered the internal conflicts of Asia must be resolved. In the conversations between Mr. Acheson, Mr. Bevin, and M. Schuman in September 1949 the conclusion was apparently reached that aid to the new nations of Asia would be the best way to prevent Communism.

The decisive communist victory in China focussed the attention of American political and military planners upon Asia with a new urgency. Toward the end of 1949 and early in 1950, Ambassador Philip C. Jessup was dispatched on a tour of political exploration, a commission was sent to study the possibilities of economic assistance to south-east Asia, the Chiefs of Staff went to investigate the military situation, and American fleet units visited south-east Asian waters.

Ambassador Jessup's statements during his visit in Asia, together with Secretary Acheson's San Francisco speech in March 1950 indicated that the United States now considered south-east Asia as an area of major concern. This was confirmed when the announcement was made that the United States was willing to supply military and economic aid to south-east Asia under the E.C.A., Point 4, and other programmes. This aid was not to be interpreted as a full American commitment to guarantee the survival of any Asian nation, but was meant as " the missing component," in Dean Acheson's words, to help these nations maintain themselves. The size of the economic aid programme under Point 4 is such, at present, as to preclude any misinterpretation. The creation of any formal regional organization was still frowned upon. Until President Truman decided to oppose

aggression against South Korea, the perimeter of the American defences seemed to remain along a line running from the Aleutians through Japan, the Ryuku islands to the Philippines. This was the line defined by Secretary Acheson in January 1950 and understood to be in agreement with military opinion in Washington. Presumably, this attitude was determined in part by the Indian go-slow attitude and in part by the reported warnings from American diplomats in Asia that the United States might be unable to exert a decisive influence on events in the region and should therefore avoid commitments which it might be unable to fulfil. It seemed wise to leave the initiative to Asian nations, at least in areas not considered vital to the defence of the United States.

The eagerness of Asian nations for economic aid from the United States (with no strings attached) is equalled by their wish to stay out of the cold war. India has in this respect the most consistent and firm attitude. Pandit Nehru has stated many times that India would not join any power bloc or any combination directed solely against Communism. In spite of several hints at the desirability of organizing all or some parts of south, south-east, and south-west Asia—always with Indian participation—in some permanent manner, he never undertook or encouraged concrete steps in this direction. He is convinced that India can be a mediating force between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In Indo-China the lines are clearly drawn between Ho Chi Minh and Bao Dai. Earlier in his career the former did not seem disinclined to maintain an independent position. As late as the summer of 1949 he stated that Viet Nam could remain neutral as between east and west. His request for recognition from Marshall Tito in February 1950 seems to have been the last expression of this attitude. Thereafter, having received no encouragement from the West and being presumably under strong pressure from Moscow, he lined up on the Russian side. Bao Dai is not independent in foreign affairs and has not expressed himself on a Pacific pact, but would probably favour it.

The Premier of Burma, Thakin Nu, declined in August 1949 to join any union, at least not unless it were " sponsored by the right people at the right moment." The Burmese Foreign Minister, U Maung, after a visit to Washington and London in August 1949 felt that there was no need for a union since neither India, Pakistan, Ceylon nor Thailand were in danger of going communist, although, he admitted, the situation might change " in a few years." He told the Burmese Parliament that the government would not sign anti-right or anti-left agreements, that Burma wished to maintain friendly relations with Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. For a long time Burma hesitated to accept badly needed foreign aid for fear of compromising her newly-won independence. But with

the establishment of a communist régime on Burma's borders, Thakin Nu's attitude on this score has softened somewhat. In March 1950 he still rejected the notion of joining a Pacific union if it is in the nature of a military alliance, but he expressed interest in participating in an "anti-aggression bloc" and in co-operating with the western democracies in economic matters. In fact, by that time, he had already informed Washington of Burma's desire for aid in solving the nation's economic and military problems. A similar step was undertaken in London. This shift in policy was doubtless hastened by the cold shoulder received from Communist China when she offered to establish diplomatic relations.

Thailand also seeks to remain neutral until the last minute. In August 1949 her Premier, Pibul Songgram, explained his Government's reluctance to join a Pacific union on the ground that it must deal with communists within the country first. Eventually, he continued, Thailand may have to join a union for reasons of prestige, but she would not make military commitments or agree to sanctions against another Asiatic nation. At the same time, however, Thailand has no agreement with Great Britain for anti-communist co-operation along the Thai-Malaya frontier, and has accepted military equipment from Great Britain and the United States for this purpose. With the approach of Communism to Thailand's borders, the Government began to question the advisability of neutrality, and in May 1950 Mr. C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* was told by Premier Pibul that he intended to request military alliances from France, Great Britain and the United States.

The position of Indonesia and Pakistan is similar. The new nations have no desire to align themselves with any power bloc and reject the idea of a military alliance, but they would be willing to join in an economic, cultural and political combination. Indonesia sought and obtained a loan from the United States in February 1950.

Japan offers a further problem in plans for a Pacific union because anti-Japanese feeling is still strong in many parts of Asia. Many leaders realize that a union must sooner or later include Japan, but fear to court unpopularity by admitting this publicly. The Japanese themselves are obviously reluctant to express an opinion. Many of them, however, are convinced that a Pacific union could not succeed without Japan, and would be glad to join it. Japanese newspapers have expressed the view that a Pacific union might be the best guarantee of Japan's sovereignty and that even though unarmed, Japan could make a substantial contribution to its success. Prime Minister Yoshida stated in April 1949 that he would welcome a Pacific pact. He is reported to believe that perpetual neutrality for Japan is impossible, and that eventually Japan must join some combination for security reasons. The Speaker of the House, Kijuro

Shidehara, and most opposition parties favour absolute neutrality and disarmament, partly for internal political reasons, partly in order to avoid reasons for military attack. Japan's ardent support of American action in Korea would seem to indicate that neutrality is not greatly favoured now.

Finally, the conquest of China by the communists and their attack on South Korea has revived talk about a union between Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. This project has been mooted on several occasions. But now the nations bordering on Russia seriously fear an all-out attempt of Communism to gain control in Asia.

A second major variation of plans for regional organization is the project of an Asian union without participation of any western nation. This is inspired by the sentiment of community of interest among all Asian nations which resulted from the war. As the *Hindu* put it in July 1946 : " If the Japanese talk of an East Asia Co-prosperity sphere proved a hollow myth, it has also served to show that countries of the Far East—Burma, Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, Indonesia, and India—should seek their security in their solidarity forged by mutual understanding and co-operation."

Several conferences, attended by the vast majority of Asian nations and Australia and New Zealand, were the first concrete steps toward the creation of an Asian union. The most spectacular was the unofficial Inter-Asian Relations Conference in March 1947 followed in January 1949, also in India, by the conference called to establish an Asian policy toward the Dutch Indonesian conflict, and in August 1949 by the conference to create an Indian Council of Cultural Co-operation with sections for west and east Asia. The latest of these conferences was held at Baguio in the Philippines in May 1950.

Although called for different purposes and not always composed of the same membership, certain identical principles characterize all these conferences. There is mutual encouragement in the aim to end colonialism and preserve the freedom and integrity of Asian nations. Nationalism is reinforced. The demand for a greater voice of Asia in world affairs is strengthened. Appreciation of each nation's problems and efforts at co-operative solution of common problems is growing. Great care is taken not to make these conferences appear as having anti-western or anti-white implications or as leading to results incompatible with the United Nations. Emphasis is placed upon cultural and economic questions. Political questions are wherever possible excluded. In other words, the idea is to demonstrate the degree of Asian solidarity rather than to point up the many difficulties still confronting the establishment of the Asian union.

The Baguio conference showed the same features, but it also reflected the sharpening of the communist *versus* anti-communist issue. The membership was restricted to Australia, Ceylon, India, Pakistan,

Indonesia, and the Philippines. Neither Nationalistic China, Communist China, nor either side of Indo-China were invited because one or the other was not recognized by all participants. Proposals to create a common front against Communism, sponsored by Australia and the Philippines, though to be called abstractly military co-operation against aggression, were not even permitted to be put on the agenda in view of the opposition of India, Indonesia, and Thailand. Unofficially, a compromise was reached according to which Communism is to be considered an internal question of each nation which could best be solved by improving living conditions. Thus the most burning issue of Asia failed to become a basis for unity among Asian nations.

The non-committal attitude of most delegates at Baguio led only to vague and general results. No agreement could be reached upon the creation of some permanent organization of the States represented. Indeed, India, which had been reluctant to attend the conference to begin with, prevented definite arrangements for a subsequent conference. The only decision in this respect was to charge General Romulo with following up the conference recommendations by ascertaining how the attending States implemented them.

A third project for regional organization has been sponsored mainly by Australia, where both labour and conservative governments have shown interest in regional defence, economic and cultural arrangements. Very soon after the end of the 1939-1945 war the Australian Government envisaged the possibility of expanding the Anzac Pact of 1944 into a wider regional organization. But the suggestions of Mr. Rhee, General Chiang Kia-shek, and President Quirino had little appeal to Australians. They looked to Great Britain and the United States as the core of an organization, with other American and Asian nations to be added later. But Great Britain sees India as the key nation of Asia, and favours a loose type of co-operation limited essentially to consultation on a technical level for the suppression of communist-led revolts. Ever since early 1949 hopeful statements about the progress of negotiations for a Pacific alliance emanating from Canberra have been denied or minimized in London. Australian defence proposals at the Commonwealth Conference at Colombo in January 1950 were shelved owing to Pandit Nehru's influence. The Australian Defence Minister, Eric Harrison, had to report at home that many difficulties still stood in the way of a Pacific pact.

However, the Australian-Singhalese plan for mutual economic assistance among Commonwealth countries in the Pacific region was enthusiastically endorsed at Colombo. The plan was implemented by a meeting of the Commonwealth Consultative Committee for economic aid to South-east Asia in Sydney in May 1950. A split developed between Australia, supported by Pakistan and Ceylon, and

Great Britain over the speed with which help should have been supplied. Australia advocated immediate assistance. Great Britain desired more investigation of needs and development programmes. It had carried the largest burden of the £500 million already spent in Asia for reconstruction since the war, it estimated the total cost of establishing economic stability in south-east Asia over the next decade at £6,000 million, and it wanted therefore to be careful that no money was squandered ; especially so as Great Britain had to contribute the largest share. New Zealand offered technical aid ; Pakistan and Ceylon pointed to their poverty ; Canada to its Atlantic commitments ; India was non-committal ; and South Africa did not show up. But the meeting ended with the outlining of a definite plan.

A six-year plan for the development of the nations of the south and south-east Asia would be established, taking account of the needs and resources of the participating countries. Every country was to submit a comprehensive statement of its economic situation and development programme to the September conference in London, where details for the six-year plan would be worked out, based upon closest co-operation and mutual help of all participants. A technical assistance scheme would be established at once, through which £8 million would be spent over a three-year period. For this purpose a Commonwealth bureau would be set up in Colombo. All non-Commonwealth countries of south and south-east Asia would be invited to participate in the plan. Discussion of the creation of a £15 million fund for the supply of food and drugs would be postponed.

No spectacular results are expected from this plan. " The psychological value of the agreements reached may prove greater than the physical," commented the *Sydney Morning Herald* in May. This value would prove to the United States that the Commonwealth is doing its best to help in the development of Asia, and to Asia that it has the sympathy of the British peoples. A more remote hope was that the plan may lead to an organization similar to the Eastern Group Supply Council of 1939, which had been created to bring together the countries of south-east Asia to marshal their resources and expand their industrial capacity.

The one common trend discernible everywhere in Asia and the Pacific is the growing concern of every nation for sheer survival, in the face of communist aggressiveness. If some kind of union emerges it will be based, openly or not, on the negative motive of fear. Even so, a Pacific union might lay the basis for constructive co-operation among the nations of the area.

(*The author writes from America where he lectures in the Department of Political Science in the University of Minnesota.*)

THE BENEVOLENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

By Norman Bentwich

IN the park of the Palais des Nations at Geneva, outside the majestic wing which was designed for the Assembly of the League, there is a golden astrolabe dedicated to President Wilson. It depicts the planets and the signs of the Zodiac huddled together; Centaur and the Serpent, Bootes and Aries, and so forth. To one attending the sittings of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, which were held during July and August at the Palais, the monument seemed an appropriate symbol of the work of the council. There are so many planets in the firmament of the United Nations, and they are mixed up together in apparent confusion, but yet they form together some rudimentary plan of the heaven to which the United Nations is hoping to lead mankind.

It was one of the major distinctions between the constitution of the United Nations and that of the League of Nations, that the broad function of international co-operation in the economic and social fields was entrusted to a special council and separated from the function of preserving peace. That is the exclusive task of the Security Council—such at least was the bright hope in 1945 of the representatives of the United Nations at San Francisco. The Economic and Social Council—ECOSOC, as it is called for short—is composed of the representatives of eighteen States, freely elected by the General Assembly, without any priority, in theory, of the big powers. Normally it sits twice a year, for six weeks or two months on each occasion, and a habit is growing up of holding one sitting at Lake Success and the other in Geneva. It regularly has an enormous agenda, covering every aspect of social and economic organization and planning. Moreover, it receives at each session reports of a number of specialized agencies of the United Nations, which deal with one or other of the manifold forms of international co-operation, such as the Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Health Organization and the International Refugee Organization.

Yet, its primary task is to consider the reports of its own commissions, some permanent and some temporary, which are concerned to develop the benevolent activities of the world society. Thus in the economic field it had this summer to consider the reports of the

commissions (1), which have examined the international ways of securing full employment in all countries, and (2), which have examined methods for assisting backward and undeveloped countries that are to benefit by what is called Point Four of the Truman Declaration. Then on the social side there were the reports of the permanent commissions, for example, on human rights, and of the temporary bodies dealing with population and the International Children's Emergency Fund. It may be said that all the big matters which national parliaments are tackling are being tackled also by this international Council of the United Nations. It would baffle a homogeneous body to cover the vast programme of the session in two months, and it becomes hopeless for an international body speaking half a dozen tongues, and constantly bothered by the fallacies of translation—however competent the interpreting staff. And yet on each and every subject the council is required to reach some decision, or at least to pass a resolution. Its common device is to send the matter forward to some other body, or back to the commission or committee, with a verbal blessing, for some inquiry or further study. It was said of the League of Nations that it touched nothing which it did not adjourn. Of the United Nations it may be said that it touches nothing which it does not study—vicariously.

It is the inevitable consequence of national planning in the social States of an inter-dependent world that there must be international planning in the world community. What, however, does seem superfluous in the Council of the United Nations is the insistent demand for conventions and declarations on every form of human rights and every aspect of social services. The Human Rights Commission is still struggling, somewhat ineffectively, with a first covenant or convention on those basic civil rights, which are included, in broad and glowing terms, in the Universal Declaration of human rights. But yet this meeting of the council found it necessary to pass a resolution about another charter of the rights of the child, which is designed again to be a glowing vision of a children's heaven. And coming down to smaller things, the council found it necessary to lay down some principles for the treatment of indigent aliens. Again it found it necessary, in dealing with a draft convention on freedom of information, to canvass the opinion of the States about an international code of ethics for journalists.

It is significant that one of the principal committees of the council has ' Co-ordination ' as its title. And its business is to keep the many specialized agencies and commissions and committees in step, to see that the same problem is not attacked simultaneously by several organs of the United Nations. This summer it was concerned at Geneva to link up the work of the Human Rights Commission with the International Labour Organization with regard to economic and

social rights of man, and with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) with regard to the educational rights of man. The different organs of the United Nations are like the members of an orchestra before the conductor appears : each member tunes up his instrument and plays his own piece, producing together an engaging discord ; and it is the trouble at Lake Success and Geneva that often there is not a conductor who is master of the orchestra.

The proceedings this summer at Geneva were in a way eased by the absence of a delegate of the Soviet Union and of any State of the eastern block. They absented themselves because of the presence in the council of a Chinese delegation. Their absence meant freedom from hostile opposition and obstruction, which every activity of the United Nations, however seemingly benevolent, attracts in the cold war. And yet without that obstruction it was difficult enough to get any positive decision on most issues because, even amongst the nations of goodwill, the approach is so different, and the connotation of words is so divergent, that nothing is simple or plain-sailing. Moreover, the very weight of the documents, which each delegation receives every morning during the sitting, is crushing, and exercises a numbing effect. If he is conscientious, the delegate must read some hundreds of pages written in that irritating language, ' Unese ', which is designed, it would seem, to conceal thought or the absence of thought.

One of the revealing papers about the administration of the secretariat of the United Nations, which was circulated for discussion, dealt with the creation of new posts in the office of the Assistant-Secretary-General concerned with the Economic and Social Council. His office is described as the central planning, co-ordinating and administrative unit, and includes 21 posts. One of its divisions, concerned with human rights, includes 56 posts, and provides technical services to the organs of the United Nations when they deal with human rights, the problems of Stateless persons, of forced labour and slavery, the status of women, freedom of information and the press, trade union rights, and the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities. Another section is concerned with the production of a year book on human rights, and its six officers toil throughout the year collecting the legislation and regulations and administrative procedure about human rights, for the edification of the other States. So the vast machine is a paper-mill.

About much of the work of the council hangs an atmosphere of baffling unreality. And yet some benevolence and, what is more important, some benefit, does come out of all the study and surveying and reporting. The best expert and technical help is being given to the less developed and backward peoples, to the new States in Asia,

India, Pakistan, Indonesia, and to the Central and South American States ; and this international technical assistance is a valuable means of raising the social and economic and cultural level. The grants of material things and money by the Food and Agricultural Organization, the Children's Emergency Fund, and the International Monetary Fund, and still more decisively, the supply of brains and technique of the doctors, the chemists, the statisticians, the demographers and the welfare workers—these assure some approach to minimum world standards.

It is one aspect of the equality of States, which is among the principles of the United Nations that some countries pay the cost and, others get the services. The recipient States naturally are prone to ask for more. The subscribing States, which are mainly the English-speaking nations, the United States and the British Commonwealth, while anxious to temper the wind to the shorn lambs, have to think of their own sheep when they are deciding on their benefactions to other lands. Lord Alexander, who was the British delegate in the sittings of the council, gave a staggering figure of the millions which the United Kingdom had spent on the relief and rehabilitation services for other countries since the end of the war. When, however, in the discussion of the work of the Social Commission of the Council, some criticism was raised of the amount it spent on studies, the reply was that the coca-cola enterprise in the United States spent on publicity a larger sum annually than the whole budget of the social committee. (And coca-cola, be it noted, has made its way effectively into the refectories of the Palace of the Nations.)

One significant innovation in the proceedings of the Economic and Social Council, as compared with the Council of the League of Nations, is the presence at the meetings of representatives of non-government organizations who are officially recognized. If they are not yet an estate of the realm, they have a place on the fringe of the council as consultants. Some 50 or 60 international organizations have received a consultative status, which gives them the right to present memoranda and have them circulated to the members of the Council, and, with the consent of the government delegations, to address the committees orally. The " N.G.O.s " flit about the halls and corridors of Geneva like the ghosts of humanity. They are divided into two categories, (A) and (B), the former having more comprehensive rights of written and oral participation ; but both categories have places allotted to them in the halls behind the the specialized agencies, junior barristers behind the ranks of the King's Counsel.

One standing committee of ECOSOC, presided over at Geneva by a British delegate, considered the applications of the N.G.O.s to speak ; and heard their spokesmen. It considered also proposals

for the removal of some organizations from the rank of consultants and applications of others to be admitted to that prized status. An organization must prove its positive worth ; a policy of denunciation and complaint, which is pursued by a few communist or semi-communist bodies, is not regarded as a qualification. The N.G.O.s make a valuable contribution both in regard to economic issues and to social questions, such as human rights, child protection, and the settlement of refugees. They do bring a small—too small—popular element into a council of government representatives ; and so are a link between the peoples and the United Nations Organization.

The United Nations is going through a hard and testing time. Even its benevolent activities are seen as parts of the cold war. They are attacked by the Soviet Union, as religion was attacked by the Bolsheviks in the early days and denounced as an opiate of the people. Yet it is by a functional approach to world problems, which are also the problems of each national State, that the slight hopes lie of building up international understanding and some spark of world loyalty. It has been pointed out that the reorganization of particular sectors of social activity affords the best chance of that co-operation which must be the basis of any free world order. And if to-day only a grain of benefit comes out of a sheaf of benevolence, yet social action, such as is planned by the luxuriant growth spreading from the Economic and Social Council, does mark a tiny step forward in the effort for peace.

THROUGH THE EYE OF NIGHT'S NEEDLE

By Iris Birtwistle

Owls do not nuzzle down the night
Like self-effacing moths
Who seek extermination
In the lethal flame
Of a moon candle.
They thread the eye
Of night's needle with skeins
Of sound that mock the sheet imprisoned
Rich while to the poor man in his ditch
They toss a camel load of slot-piece stars.

UNITY IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION

By William F. Russell

IN order to understand the origins of the present division among teachers' organizations on the world scene and to appreciate the critical nature of the basic obstacle to unity at the present time, it is necessary to understand the basic division, that has long been a characteristic of education in western Europe, between elementary and secondary education.

To the American, elementary education is that of younger children, and secondary education that of older children or adolescents, a distinction of " level ". To the western European, it is a matter of quality, or " degree " as they put it. In the Germany of the Kaiser or earlier, the elementary school was the poor people's school, accepting the children of the masses and carrying them for several years of basic education. Parallel to these schools were the rich people's schools, also giving the basic education, but after a longer period of time, preparing for the university and higher technical schools leading to government service and professional life. The one school was free ; the other demanded payment of tuition by the parent. The one was called " *volkschule* " the other the "*gymnasium*" One was taught by a " *lehrer* " the other by a *professor*. In one, the pupil (*schuler*) learned ; in the other the student studied. The teacher for the one was trained in the normal school ; the professor for the other was educated in the university. There was a vast social distinction between the two. Professors in secondary schools were better paid than teachers in the elementary schools and, in fact, considered themselves on a higher social level. Children of elementary school teachers went to elementary schools ; those of secondary school professors could themselves be educated with the children of the favoured.

Between the two wars, and since 1945, there has been some tendency to break away from this distinction, but it is still deep seated. American educators in the American Zone of Germany have great difficulty in breaking it down. Even where the letter of the law works against the old system the old spirit prevails. Even in Germany under a supposedly democratic régime, there still remains this rift in the teaching body.

In France, and in most of the other countries of western Europe

this basic division has persisted, despite the growth of democracy and corresponding changes in school law. Secondary school professors think of themselves as apart from and better than elementary school teachers ; and the differences in terminology found in Germany remain in common usage in these other countries. In France the elementary school teacher is still an *instituteur* not a *professeur* ; the child is still an *élève* ; what he does is *apprendre* not *étudier* ; and *instituteurs* and *professeurs* are trained in different teacher training institutions.

Despite all trends towards democracy, *instituteurs* in the elementary schools and *professeurs* in the secondary schools do not join in the same associations within their own countries ; and this is the situation in France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, and the rest of the European countries outside the Iron Curtain. This is not true in Great Britain, except for relatively minor exceptions.

The first international organization of teachers, founded in 1912, was named FIPESO (*Fédération internationale des professeurs de l'enseignement secondaire officiel*—International Federation of Professors in Secondary Schools, with some degree of government recognition, support and control). The start was a reunion of a few secondary school professors of France, Belgium and Holland. Dormant during the 1914-1918 war, it was revived in 1919 and was active during the twenty years that followed. Its programmes were well prepared, attacked the major professional problems of secondary schools of the European type, and gave some slight attention to international problems on the general level. It met five times in France, twice in England, Belgium, and Switzerland, and once each in Luxemburg, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Holland, Latvia and Italy. It has never met outside western Europe. Its publications have been excellent and of substantial value to the members.

The second organization was the World Federation of Education Associations founded at San Francisco in 1923. Dr. Augustus Thomas, Commissioner of Education in Maine, was the leading spirit, assisted by Raphael Hermann, a man of wealth from California, who gave some of the funds necessary. This was a rather loose organization of national teachers' associations, which had its headquarters in Washington. It held meetings in Scotland, Canada, Switzerland, the United States, Ireland, England, Japan, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. The purpose was by biennial meetings to foster international acquaintance and friendship and to serve as a public forum for the many speakers, who gave lengthy addresses. There was no appearance of consistent policy, important publication, nor combined research. It never received much support on the continent of Europe.

Three years after the formation of WFEA the French spearheaded

the formation of an international federation of associations of elementary school teachers, named *Fédération internationale des associations d'instituteurs.* In attending meetings of this organization I have frequently noted one text in French and quite a different version in English. In conformity with this custom the English translation of this title is International Federation of Teachers' Associations, which leaves out for the foreigner any reference to the fact that on the Continent this is an association of the teachers in the poor people's schools. This organization was rather less well run than FIPESO, with less well prepared agenda and with less valuable publications. It got into great difficulty in the period just before the war by discussions of a political nature, with special reference to Germany and Spain. Like FIPESO, it never met outside western Europe—three times in France, twice in Czechoslovakia, and once each in Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Luxemburg, Spain, England, Denmark and Sweden. During the recent war years WFEA slumbered on and nothing was heard either of FIPESO or FIAI.

After peace had been declared and the various peoples of the world had caught their breath, leaders of the teaching profession again began to turn their attention to the problem of unity. The National Education Association of America had never had any connection either with FIAI or FIPESO ; WFEA seemed to have died a quiet death, and the field appeared free to make a new effort. Accordingly Dr. Givens and Dr. Carr, Secretary and Associate Secretary of the NEA, began to explore the possibility of a preliminary meeting of all associations of the world to draft a plan for a new world association. The result was the meeting called for August 1946 ; and to insure equality of status and no preponderant influence by any one country, especially the U.S.A., delegations were to be limited to three for each country.

The constitution of the World Organization of the Teaching Profession was drafted, whereby an organization, in full control of its delegate assembly, was to be run by a seven-man executive committee. Member associations had from one to five votes according to size ; meetings were planned annually, and regional offices were set up in Washington and Edinburgh. The Educational Institute of Scotland and the National Union of Teachers (which sent five delegates) played a dominant rôle in drafting the new constitution, and twenty-eight countries sent delegates. Europe was represented by Poland, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, Luxemburg and Switzerland, and South America by Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Mexico, Ecuador, Chile and Haiti. The French teachers, although they accepted the invitation to send a delegation to Endicott, withdrew without explanation at the last moment. Instead they started a movement of their own that was to result in FISE (*Fédération inter-*

nationale des syndicats d'enseignement—the international Federation of Teachers' Unions).

In France as well as in a number of other countries of western Europe teachers' associations had become in fact trade unions and had identified themselves with the various national organizations of union labour. Even in the 1930's they were very far to the left, with substantial communist membership, and looked more to Moscow for leadership than to anywhere else.

In 1946, Mlle. Cavalier and other leaders in the dominant French organization of elementary school teachers, apparently thinking FIAI and FIPESO gone without possibility of recall, called a meeting of teachers' associations to form a new international organization, DPIE, the department of education of the International Federation of Trade Unions. The meeting was called for Paris in July, a month earlier than the Endicott meeting. The delegates were mostly from western Europe ; a student or two present in Paris for other purposes represented a couple of countries in the Far East ; a delegate from the CIO Teachers Union of New York was warmly welcomed ; and there was one Cuban who claimed to represent 14 countries of Latin America including Puerto Rico. I got little from the meeting, was never called upon to speak, nor was I asked to reply when more than one delegate attacked the United States violently as imperialists, fascist, a nation of warmongers, and the NEA as the willing agent of American big business, and American teachers as slaves. Since nothing was done in open meeting, save listening to long speeches and longer translations, and since resolutions prepared *in camera* were voted without discussion, it was difficult for an American observer to detect what was going on. It was notable that on an executive committee of nine two places went to Latin America, one to the CIO Teachers Union of New York, one to Poland and two were held open for the U.S.S.R. which, oddly enough, had not sent any delegates at all.

It may be added that these early observations of mine were confirmed in the spring of 1948, when the French teachers, under the leadership of Mlle. Cavalier, came to realize that the communists were using DPIE as an agency of international power and penetration. They withdrew, leaving DPIE—or as it is now known, FISE (*Fédération Internationale des Syndicats d'Enseignement*—International Federation of Teachers' Unions)—as a purely communist organization. This organization met in Warsaw last summer.

In the meantime FIAI and FIPESO came to life. M. Dumas, the key spirit of FIAI, after a distinguished career in the French Resistance, visited England and Scotland with plans for a meeting in Geneva. Few attended ; funds were small, but the organization had a token meeting and kept alive. The secretary of FIPESO was at the same

time Deputy Secretary of the Educational Institute of Scotland, and much was done to revive old loyalties for the 1946 meeting at Lausanne. These were held at the same time as the meeting at Endicott.

The American Federation of Teachers, although only about one-tenth the size of the NEA, had been very active internationally, had taken pains to send representatives to foreign educational meetings for many years, and conversely had had the foresight to invite officials of foreign teacher associations to their meetings in the United States. There had been personal contacts and personal friendships between leaders of the English, Scottish and French (not to mention others) for many years. The AFT had not been invited to the meeting at Endicott, and it had taken a prominent part in WFEA. As one looks back, the decision not to invite smaller organizations from a single country was, to say the least, unwise. However, at least one member of the AFT, well connected abroad, wrote to prominent officials of foreign associations about the danger of joining WOTP because it was American-created and American-dominated ; that it was a willing servant of American capitalistic imperialism ; that it had its origins in the dictates of a great capitalistic monopoly ; that the WFEA had been killed because it could not be controlled ; that WOTP could not be termed a teachers' organization because it was a creature of employers of teachers ; that the NEA was not a teachers' organization, but a catch-all under the control of administrators.

It was a pity that such positive statements should have come from such apparently responsible sources issued in such a way as to make reply impossible. And their effect upon officials of foreign teachers' associations cannot be under-estimated. Even within the Executive Committees of the National Union of Teachers of England and Wales (not a labour union) and in the Educational Institute of Scotland they were not without their effect ; and the adherence of AFT to FIAI—an elementary teachers' organization, and to FIPESO—a secondary teachers' organization—gave these organizations a financial hypodermic. The Educational Institute of Scotland joined WOTP at the start and also supported FIAI and FIPESO. The NUT which continued its membership and subscriptions to FIAI and FIPESO joined WOTP with great reluctance and only on the condition that unity of all three should soon be achieved, and this despite the fact that the five delegates to Endicott had led in creating the new organization.

The result of this under-cover campaign of vilification was to resuscitate FIPESO and FIAI. They held meetings simultaneously at Edinburgh in 1947, with some sessions in common, and despite the fact that WOTP met at Glasgow immediately after these meetings they repudiated all efforts towards liaison, let alone any movement

towards closer relations. The effort towards a truly world organization was definitely rebuffed.

During the following two years FIPESO and FIAI carried on in the same manner as before the war. They held simultaneous meetings at Interlaken in 1948 and at Stockholm in 1949 and this year met at Amsterdam. FIPESO appears to be just as effective as before the war, carries on serious study of problems of secondary school teachers of the western European type, makes careful preparations for its meetings, and its published materials are valuable. FIAI, also as before the war, continues to be the same loosely-knit organization. There appears to be little preparation for meetings ; agenda are poorly prepared ; and actual membership and finances are a mystery, since no such data are published. A long list of members is claimed, but no indication is given as to whether or not they pay dues.

WOTP, in contrast, with no pre-war traditions to follow (except that negatively it does not wish to make the same mistake as WFEA) is developing a tradition of a strong headquarters, serious meetings annually for from six to eight days, ' de-emphasis ' of excursions and entertainment, a minimum of set speeches and extended discussion in open meeting of written materials supplied to the delegates in advance. At the London meetings, memoranda were prepared by five member associations from the U.S.A., England, Scotland, China and Swtizerland on the following subjects : " Teaching of International Relations Through Current Events", " Health and Physical Education," " Interchange of Students and Teachers", " Elimination of Illiteracy" and " International Language ". The memoranda were sent out to all member associations in advance, and the comments in return were mimeographed and appended to the original reports. These in turn were submitted to the Delegate Assembly in English and French texts.

At the meeting in London in 1948, the Delegate Assembly adopted a new policy for the consideration of association problems on the association level and resolved to devote a substantial part of the attention of WOTP in the future to the interchange and discussion of the practices of teachers' associations themselves. Just as the individual teacher through his association learns what other teachers do and how they meet their problems, so national associations through an international association may learn of the practices and procedures of other associations. Each association present gave a description of its organization and methods of work.

Much of the 1949 meeting at Berne was devoted to reports from member associations, with subsequent extended discussion, of the policies of those associations with regard to teachers' salaries, retirement and superannuation allowances, and the protection of the rights

of teachers. In addition, at Berne, considerable and realistic attention was paid to the rôle of the teacher and school in education for peace.

WOTP was strictly business. There was full attendance at the opening on Monday morning and equal attendance at the close on Saturday afternoon. Only one-half day was given over to excursions, and that was compensated for by an extra evening session. Aside from a few formal talks of welcome and responses, there were no speeches. WOTP, battered and besmirched, has emerged as the largest, most powerful and best financed international organization of teachers that has ever existed. Of its annual budget of over $16,000, not a penny comes from any source but the contributions of the teachers.

It was agreed in April 1949 that a new world confederation should be formed ; that from the beginning it should have at least two sub-sections called FIAI and FIPESO, with the possibility of others to be added later ; that each of these should have power over its internal affairs and have the right of discussion of problems within its own competence ; and that there might be regional offices and meetings. The differences, apparently resolved, but apparent in the different texts of what various persons present thought that they had agreed to, had to do with (1) how national associations were to join the new world confederation, first to the super-organization, or to the super-organization by virtue of membership in FIAI or FIPESO ; (2) whether all members of the super-organization must then become members of either FIAI or FIPESO, or whether national associations, which recognize no such difference, might join the super-organization without joining either sub-section ; (3) in fact were FIAI and FIPESO to be sub-sections at all, but rather the main bodies with all power.

Immediately after, representatives of FIAI, FIPESO and WOTP met at Stockholm and made arrangements for the Constitutional Convention to try to agree upon a plan for union of the three international organizations. Five delegates from each were to be named to meet in Paris.

The Committee of Three also agreed that it would facilitate the work of the Convention and make plain the issues if representatives of each organization might meet in advance and prepare a preliminary draft of a proposed constitution with the issues carefully drawn out. This meeting, attended by Gossart, Michel and Sack, was held at Berne on October 28 and 29 ; and the results of their deliberations were forwarded to all delegates to the meeting in Paris.

Thus on December 12, 13 and 14, we reached agreement among fifteen delegates appointed by FIPESO, FIAI and WOTP upon the essentials of a constitution for the new super-international organization, WCTP. This draft was presented to the meeting of WOTP at

Ottawa, Canada, during the week of July 16, 1950. Early in August it was presented at Amsterdam in Holland to FIPESO and FIAI. It is our hope that a preparatory commission can be appointed to effect WCTP by the summer of 1951.

And when WCTP comes into being, as come it will, if we all of us can display the same spirit of give and take as did the fifteen at Paris, we then shall have overcome the obstacles and have achieved that single voice and association of might and power that we have desired for so many years.

(*Dean William Russell is President of the Teachers College, Columbia University, and President of the World Organization of the Teaching Profession.*)

SOUTH LIMBURG

By J. T. Brockway

District of streams, white farms and poplar trees,
Of hedges, hills, unlikely in this land ;
Whose people twist the language as they please—
But live a language God can understand.

A catholic country, simple and serene,
That has not bartered faith for sanitation,
That could not really make a serious claim
To be a part of western civilization.

You might mistake it for some Holy Land,
Each fork, each corner, has its crucifix—
But for tin cans of every crack-pot brand,
A culture's refuse, tossed behind the ricks,
And cannonshells that, proud and empty, stand
On shining sills, replacing candlesticks.

A CENTRAL PARISH CHURCH

By A. M. Cook

TO the August number of The Fortnightly the Reverend B. M. G Reardon contributed an interesting article about the English parish, and of the changes likely or desirable to occur as a result of the Parochial Reorganization Measure. He laid emphasis on the fact that our parochial machinery has largely been inherited from the days of feudalism and is out of date ; he pleaded that in a period of growing populations and of fewer clergy the right policy is to try more definitely to treat groups of parishes both in town and country as ' districts ', with a central church in the middle and with other churches in the neighbourhood serving in an allied but more or less subordinate capacity.

I have been asked to give some account of my fifteen years' ministry as vicar of Boston, Lincolnshire, because experiences there may to some degree throw light upon the possibilities Mr. Reardon has in mind. It is with considerable diffidence that I comply, but I realize that many men have written the story of their adventurous lives and without doubt I can look back on my service there as one of adventure as exciting and absorbing as any.

Boston cannot be regarded as a large town, nor did the churches in the two rural deaneries surrounding it ever become as subordinate as Mr. Reardon foreshadows, but on the other hand the parish church at Boston is central in a way that none can ignore and as years went by its influence over town and countryside undoubtedly grew. The parish itself contains about 17,500 people ; in its midst there is the magnificent church of St. Botolph, while across the river there was both a district church and a nineteenth century chapel-of-ease, closed when I arrived in 1931 and ultimately, to my great satisfaction, pulled down, and its endowment transferred to the parish church staff fund. Around this old town there lie three divisions of the ancient Danish settlement of Skirbeck, each a parish of some 2,500 people, and beyond them stretches the wide fen country with parishes of large areas and comparatively large populations ; in fact the bi-weekly market at Boston serves 50,000 people.

I began with two tremendous advantages : I had previously served on the staff and, after an absence of ten years, was returning to work among old friends ; and the much needed inception of a great scheme

for restoring the church had made a most successful call upon the loyalty of the town and had revived in many minds some consciousness of the greatness of their inheritance.

I was fortunate enough to find a senior assistant of unusual administrative ability, who is now vicar of Gainsborough, and other recruits came along. With the advent of Michael Ramsey in 1936 the endowed lectureship recovered its former prestige and his divinity class at the night-school laid the foundations of educational work among adults that still continues. A year later we ventured upon engaging a fourth assistant, arranging for his payment in faith ; I wrote round to twenty neighbouring parishes promising that for ordinary fees we would be able to take duty during holidays, illness or vacancies. On a Sunday we were seldom all at home and with the help of a fine team of lay-readers were able to ensure that every church for many miles around had its full complement of services.

Apart from such provision and the wider influence that can be made upon a larger area by a central staff of clergy, there arises another matter of vast importance. Young clergy have a far better training and a much greater chance of developing their abilities if they spend their earlier years with others. Work was never a drudgery for we helped one another ; we enjoyed ourselves and we worked hard. We did not form a large number of new organizations, but turned up, one here and one there, at whatever was going on in the town ; there was visiting to do and lessons to give, but on the other hand we met our people at their various occupations. One coached the rowing club ; another was an expert at wireless, or thought parochial visiting as thrilling as stamp-collecting, or set himself to visit all the caravans at the fair, with a letter of welcome, and a hundred wanderers round England grew to look forward with eagerness to their week in the town, closing down on Sunday evening that they might come to church.

One task of early importance had to do with schools. For the most part the primary schools at Boston were maintained by the local education authority. But there still remained in the midst a small Church of England school ; it had been built in 1851 and the playground was appalling. We spent some £2,000 on removing it from the black list, but if the class-rooms could not be enlarged and the place was always inadequate, there still remained opportunities of setting a standard for others to follow ; we supplied the teachers' room with armchairs, we introduced the wireless and then, as the coronation drew near we decided that the school ought to have a banner. It was gay, its heraldry had some meaning about it ; the roughest of boys were anxious to carry it and, within a few months, the authorities determined that every school should have a similar banner with appropriate heraldic device. The ultimate result was

that none of the schools thereafter refrained from turning out in full panoply at municipal functions or great ceremonies at church. In that summer the parish produced no less than 80 banners of local heraldry; it did not matter if some of the families had died out, or had gone to America in 1630, or now-a-days were living in back streets. The enterprise set folk talking ; they realised a new unity one with another, and they became more conscious of a historic past.

It was the whole town we had in mind—all the children and not only those who went to the church school. At first there were just one or two council schools prepared to send a class to join in a children's service during the patronal festival, but, lured by banners and the enthusiasm of the organist, it became established that every school, secondary or primary, church, council or private, had one class trained for a full evensong, with canticles to a setting, anthems and hymns. It was one method of ensuring that every child began to feel at home in church. We arranged too that all children on the point of leaving school came for lessons upon the history of the church and those who had worshipped there. A third method of helping the child to regard the church as his friend had to do with the children's service on a Sunday afternoon ; when some sort of bargain had to be made with the county authority about church schools, I stipulated that every school, in town or county, was to be provided with the same hymn-book. Then we introduced into our Sunday schools a shorter edition of that same compilation and in consequence any child coming in found that he was singing hymns that were familiar. I am sure that there lay one reason why the number of children in the Sunday schools doubled in number.

Then there is the matter of literature—literature of all sorts, and aimed at the goal of helping folk to know and understand what was happening at church and of making them feel that it was a friendly place. There was the parish magazine ; every time the sales went up or advertisements grew, we enlarged the publication. The circulation soon reached 1,500 copies and if it had not been for paper restrictions might have reached 2,000. Now and again I would issue a four-page and rather personal letter to the 1,800 people on the electoral roll. Three times, I think, I sent a similar letter to every house in the town, dealing with some special call from God, at the coronation or during the war, but also containing information about weddings, baptisms or classes and intercessions.

Other literature ought, I suppose, to include the careful printing of forms of service for particular occasions—and there were many of them during the war. They cost money of course, but it was worth it ; a large congregation, many of whom would be unfamiliar with a church service, felt happy and comfortable with papers in their hands. There were times during the war when troops in the town or sailors

at the docks must have numbered a couple of thousand ; people generally were unbounded in their hospitality and it was vital that the church should reflect the kindness outside its walls.

There were, however, other occasions than during the war when Boston liked to parade to church and I am convinced that there were many confirmed afterwards whose first approach towards a consciousness of a need of religious faith and its expression in worship began at a great service. Bit by bit, the ceremonial and the pageantry became increasingly impressive. And whenever possible, as for example at a hospital service on a Sunday afternoon, I would invite the Free Church ministers to attend and prepared a collection of black-gowns in order that they might feel part and parcel of all that happened. I cannot think that in such fellowship either church or chapel betrays its particular cause.

I shall never forget one afternoon seeing, as I came home from visiting, a long line of fishermen giving in their names at the County Hall in response to a request for men and ships to go to the rescue of the army at Dunkirk. There followed in the next week a call from the archbishops to prayer and we began a united act of intercession, after evensong, every Tuesday ; it was alternately at church or chapel ; each time an Anglican spoke and a Free Churchman led the prayers or *vice-versa*. There were times when the numbers attending these services approached 300 ; few who came could ever forget how near God can be when folk in trouble pray together.

It would seem to me vital for its true well-being that every community should have a sense of mission of some sort or other. I happened to come to Boston in the middle of a great scheme of church restoration ; the result of the inspiration so caused has lasted for twenty years. People are still ready to give gifts to the church or to make provision for its maintenance in their wills. But out of that restoration there developed an interest more subtle and perhaps more important. In the summer of 1933 a number of visitors from Boston, Massachusetts, accepted an invitation to attend a service of thanksgiving for the completion of the work. They were entertained in private houses and in the old Guildhall near the cells in which the Pilgrim Fathers had been immured ; we decided to make it an annual event. It caught on, and until the war began we had the happiness of receiving into our homes some 25 or 30 New Englanders each year. There was a dinner and a garden party to which all and sundry could come ; there was a great attendance at the seamen's service. The pilgrimage shrank during the war but it has revived again. The town has learnt the joy of showing hospitality, which applies not only to individual hosts or even those who come to church ; it also applies to the hundreds who rally in the market-place, listen to speeches and cheer to their heart's content.

Or again, there were some of the older inhabitants becoming anxious about the disappearance of historic buildings. In 1934 we managed to form a preservation trust and bought a fine eighteenth century house, once the home of the Fydell family, and also the remains of the Dominican friary ; later on we added to them some twenty smaller properties, the whole being grouped round the Guildhall. At first we contemplated the repair of Fydell House as a show-place or headquarters for American visitors, but it became obvious that the property could only have a permanent life if it were used for some social or educational purpose, and it was a great day when the Adult Education Department of Nottingham University decided to help a great experiment. The trust remains the owner; the university is the tenant, but a tenant not only for classes in religion, history, philosophy, political science or other subjects, but also on behalf of a number of cultural associations such as the French Circle, the Historical Association, the Arts and Crafts Society and others whose members are glad to have contact with influences of a university standard and to mingle in the same common-room with those who attend the more normal courses. This institution we called Pilgrim College ; it is yet an infant, but some 300 people are at Fydell House every week and there seem to lie ahead many opportunities of welding together with a sense of purpose a large number of those who live in a united town. All through the story the clergy of the parish church have taken and still take a prominent part in the teaching.

Finally, it is four years since I left. I am deeply grateful for all that has happened during that time. Pilgrim College is obviously full of vigour and ably led by a young and energetic warden. There are those in the town and the municipality who take care that the American pilgrimage and other similar activities still continue. My successor as vicar of Boston with an able staff has found the joy of serving a central church with a wide influence and, under his care, the numbers of communicants and candidates for confirmation continue to grow.

I would suggest that in the problems that confront the Church it might well be wise to experiment here and there with a revival of the ancient term ' Minster ' ; before feudal demands insisted upon a parish church in each and every manor, there were minster churches with some corporate life from which clergy would go to preach, to teach and to administer the sacraments—and would then return for refreshment of mind and soul, for devotion, encouragement and fellowship.

(*Canon Cook is now the Subdean of Lincoln.*)

OLD FAMILIES

By Freda C. Bond

No, I have never been a respecter of persons ;
A cabinet maker and a cabinet minister
To me are equally sublime or sinister,
And Frank Sinatra and a street musician
Are both alike to me.
I don't court the owners of television ;
New gadgets, new creations leave me cold :
With families as with houses, I like them old.

Old families—yes, you've got something there
Better than pressure cookers or washing machines,
Or so I thought, till I reflected
On what " old family " means :
It's not what I expected.

For see—from Norman times to the Pretender
(Falsely so called) the wrong man won.
Unhappily, it isn't the defender
Of the old loyalties who has the fun ;
It's the collaborators who surrender,
By whom the new " old families " are begun.
You see the principle at work
If you consult Debrett and Burke.

We wear our best names double-barrelled—
But did the lands belong to Harold
Before the Conqueror bestowed the feoff ?
What of the abbey lands, which Henry's minions
Received for backing his opinions ?
What of the ancient names
Honoured to-day because of a belief
In regicide—a most ignoble deference
To Cromwell, the Protector, or a preference
For Orange William to royal James ?

Which are the coming names, unknown as yet ?
What incidents which we deplore
Will bring their owners to the fore
And introduce them to Debrett ?
Three hundred years from now, will there still be
Old families to beguile old snobs like me ?

G.B.S., G.K.C. AND PARADOX

By A. N. Gilkes

IT is recorded that a very modest young lady was walking by a lake on a very hot day and coming to a pleasant wood she decided that the place was deserted enough to risk a bathe. When she was in the water, an officer in uniform appeared ; so she swam round a headland and waited until he had gone away. Then she came back, dressed under the shade of the trees and sat looking at the lake. Presently the officer returned to the edge of the wood and shouted : " Right ho, camouflage squad, dismiss ! " And all the trees walked away. That I take to be a reasonable example of the literal and derivative meaning of paradox. This event belongs to the category of the unexpected. Although she noticed while she was drying herself that the trees moved slightly in spite of there being no wind, she could hardly have foreseen she was putting Army discipline to such a test.

But when Mr. T. S. Eliot begins his poem *East Coker* with the words " My end is my beginning " we could describe his phrase by using the word paradox in its most common sense of " truth expressed by a verbal contradiction." I know there are still many who would grant Mr. Eliot the contradiction but deny either truth or beauty to his verbal obscurities. But their irritation is over-hasty, for the habit of using what I might call the paradox contradictory has continuous authority from the famous declaration : " Whosoever shall save his life shall lose it " down to many a less effective oxymoron of the modernists. Both kinds of paradox are an effective weapon and two of the greatest writers and prophets of this century—G.B.S. and G.K.C.—have made special use of them. To call it misuse would not be inaccurate. For one of Mr. Shaw's major deficiencies as a playwright is his determination that the audience shall not quite understand, while the trick of verbal paradox degenerated in much of Chesterton's later work into a mannerism. Yet it is worth while examining the different methods with which they employed this chief weapon in their armoury.

Mr. Shaw is so in earnest that he has been attacked for paradox contradictory (something he practically never employs) when he is really using the paradox unexpected. His habit is to push an idea to its grimmest and most logical conclusion, in the same startling way in which the uncompromising injunction: " Turn the

other cheek " was flung at a puzzled audience. But if we remember that he is (*a*) a Puritan, (*b*) an Irishman and (*c*) one of the ablest, and most conceited, and in some ways the most modest, man living, nearly all his extravagances become reasonably predictable and his apparent paradoxes dwindle into mere exaggerations.

" I have always been a Puritan," he writes, " in my views of art : I am as fond of fine music and handsome buildings as Milton was, but if I found they were becoming the instrument of a systematic idolatry of sensuousness, I would hold it good statesmanship to blow every cathedral in the world to pieces with dynamite." This outburst embodies the well-known argument that love of beauty, in art or in religion, may sometimes sap moral fibre. The paradox unexpected is simply the expression of the argument in its extreme form—it secures attention, but at the cost of losing its cogency, for good statesmanship would consist not in destroying the objects of beauty, but in transforming the idolatry of sensuousness without such an extravagant sacrifice. The intention is to penetrate the thick hide of contemporary complacency ; the result has been to confirm the suspicion that Shaw is the victim of an unworthy desire to show off, and that he resembles " a dignified old monkey throwing coconuts at society in pure senile devilment." He has, in fact, had a tremendous and mostly beneficial influence ; but when his admirers declare that he has conquered the British people, they should give no less praise to the British people, who have grasped the sincerity underlying his antics, often rejecting, often assimilating, and have displayed illimitable good temper and good sense in sitting beneath the shower-bath of his invective and in assessing its cleansing value.

It is the Puritan in him that made Bunyan his favourite author, and that stirred him to protest in a letter written from the Riviera to Ellen Terry : " I was born to bite the north wind, not to soak in these lukewarm Reckitt's blue purlieus of gamblers." And it is the same puritanical spirit that has reduced his love scenes to absurdity. His lovers either lapse into ludicrous endearments, or expostulate violently in mid-osculation that their girl friends are no better than human spiders. Even D. H. Lawrence's love scenes, which are often conducted, as it were, *maxima voce* and with strident invective, are not so silly as some of Mr. Shaw's.

Chesterton is right, however, in insisting upon Mr. Shaw's intellectual chastity as an important entry on the credit side of his puritanism. He came through the decadent 'nineties with extraordinary healthiness of mind, and although his plays have sometimes failed to pass the Censor, his own contention that he is an essentially clean and single-minded writer is undoubtedly true. Similarly this single-minded love of the paradox unexpected is responsible for his vegetarian, his anti-vivisectionist, his anti-vaccinationist views, in

which he is beyond doubt sincere. At what stage such a man becomes a crank instead of a prophet is a matter of opinion.

A second powerful stimulus towards the paradox unexpected comes from his being an Irishman and having, in his own famous phrase " two eyes ". The English view of an Irishman as a light-hearted genial sentimentalist is totally mistaken. It is the Englishman who has just this power of romantic idealization which, as Mr. Maurice Colbourne puts it, " has transmitted the leaden necessities of commercial expansion into the silver opportunities for punitive expeditions and the golden glories of empire." But the Irishman is a ruthless realist, with a natural faculty for concealing barbarous cruelty under a twinkling eye. He has " an unflagging passion for being a nuisance " and really hates what he says he hates—an attitude which an Englishman finds both uncomfortable and incomprehensible. From this springs Mr. Shaw's realistic hatred of poverty. " I have never," this ardent socialist protests with paradoxical ' exaggeration ', " had any feelings about the English working classes except a desire to abolish them."

The same realism accounts for his readiness to live on his mother for some years after he came to London. An American defended him because he made amends later in her old age. But Mr. Shaw would have none of it. " I did not throw myself into the struggle for life, I threw my mother into it. I steadily wrote my five pages a day and made a man of myself (at my mother's expense) instead of a slave . . . I was a stupendously selfish artist leaning with the full weight of his hungry body on an energetic and capable woman. My mother worked for my living instead of preaching that it was my duty to work for hers ; therefore take off your hat to her and blush." This, by the way, is not untypical of his fallacious method of aggressive argument. The critic is bidden to blush for insulting his mother, but no-one was insulting her. It was George Bernard Shaw who was being criticized, and the criticism of his action remains unanswered under the spate of words. Her readiness to give does not excuse his excessive readiness to receive.

Of his unfaltering determination to be a progressive and of the trouble caused by that element in his nature which has been referred to by critics as Joey the Clown and which has been responsible for so much of his erratic levity, there is no need to speak here. Men as great as he can afford many more explosions of ineptitude, and still compel, as he does, an unbounded respect and admiration. The best summing-up of his deficiencies comes, perhaps, from his friend, Chesterton : " We can never imagine Shaw inspiring any of his fellow-men to write a war-song, or a drinking song, or a love-song, the three forms of human utterance which come next in nobility to a prayer."

When we turn to G. K. Chesterton, the other great writer and teacher, the master of paradox contradictory, we find a paradox at the very outset of his career. For the man whose praise of wine is perpetual was born close to the waterworks on Campden Hill.

Hear him first in defence of the indefensible in the essay on rash vows. It turns out to be a defence of the marriage vow against the disciples of free love. It is necessary to quote at some length to observe the method of the paradox contradictory.

> A rash vow is a bad vow, a marriage vow is a rash vow—therefore . . . " The revolt against vows has been carried in our day even to the extent of a revolt against the typical vow of marriage. It is most amusing to listen to the opponents of marriage on this subject. They appear to imagine that the ideal of constancy was a yoke mysteriously imposed on mankind by the devil, instead of being, as it is, a yoke consistently imposed by all lovers on themselves. They have invented a phrase, a phrase that is a black and white contradiction in two words "free-love "—as if a lover ever had been, or ever could be, free. It is the nature of love to bind itself, and the institution of marriage merely paid the average man the compliment of taking him at his word. Modern sages offer to the lover, with an ill-favoured grin, the largest liberties and the fullest irresponsibility ; but they do not write his oath upon the heavens, as the record of his highest moment. They give him every liberty except the liberty to sell his liberty, which is the only one that he wants. . . . It is exactly this backdoor, this sense of having a retreat behind us, that is the sterilizing spirit in modern pleasure. Everywhere there is the persistent and insane attempt to obtain pleasure without paying for it. Thus, in politics, the modern Jingoes practically say: " Let us have the pleasures of conquerors without the pains of soldiers : let us sit on sofas and be a hardy race." Thus in religion and morals, the decadent mystics say : " Let us have the fragrance of sacred purity without the sorrows of self-restraint; let us sing hymns alternately to the Virgin and Priapus." Thus in love, the free-lovers say : " Let us have the splendour of offering ourselves without the peril of committing ourselves ; let us see whether one cannot commit suicide an unlimited number of times."
>
> Emphatically it will not work. There are thrilling moments, doubtless, for the spectator, the amateur, and the aesthete ; but there is one thrill that is known only to the soldier who fights for his own flag, to the ascetic who starves himself for his own illumination, to the lover who makes finally his own choice. And it is this transfiguring self-discipline that makes the vow a truly sane thing. All around us is the city of small sins, abounding in backways and retreats, but surely, sooner or later, the towering flame will rise from the harbour announcing that the reign of the cowards is over and a man is burning his ships.

Hear him, next, puncture Bernard Shaw with his own different brand of paradox. To the Shavian paradox unexpected, that " we must never tell a child anything without letting him hear the opposite opinion " he replies, first : " We shall, therefore, not tell the child not to bite his sister unless we have someone at hand to tell him that he may " and then adds that Mr. Shaw does not understand the paradox of children : " Though they are purer and better than we are, yet we must teach them so much." He neatly turns the argument for sexual promiscuity by remarking that " men fall in love, not into free love " and clinches his contention by pointing out that legal mono-

gamy has its roots not in the tyranny of man but in the fact that we can only have the heroic expression of love if both men and women are slaves. While he praises Mr. Shaw for realizing that the emancipation of women has freed men so far as to enable them to be rude to women, he rebukes him for his failure to understand the real paradox of marriage that the woman is all the more the centre of the house because she is not its head.

Take next such pleasant paradoxes as : " It is only the grown man who lives a life of make believe ; and it is he, not the child, who has his head in a cloud " or : " Imagination is almost the opposite of illusion " or in defence of his own absent-mindedness : " I am not absent-minded, it is presence of mind that makes me unaware of everything else " or, talking of the emancipation of women : " Twenty million young women rose to their feet with the cry ' we will not be dictated to ! ' and became stenographers ! " Of such a man we could guess, even without being told, the explanation of the two paradoxical purchases he made on his wedding day on his way to the church. He bought a revolver and a glass of milk. " I did not ", he remarks " buy the revolver to murder either myself or my wife ; I have never been really modern." The revolver was for the protection of his wife during their honeymoon against East Anglian pirates ; and the glass of milk was bought because he had always bought a glass of milk with his mother in his boyhood at that very shop. It was a fitting ceremonial to connect the two great relationships of a man's life.

If Chesterton's delight in paradox did sometimes degenerate into a mere display of verbal dexterity, what splendid use he made of it in most of his writing ! *The Defendant*, from which I quoted at length above, is now too little known. It is G.K.C. at his best, where thought and style are admirably fused. Some years ago a friend of mine went to stay with a headmaster, and as he took off his coat in the hall, he asked what the loud, gusty, booming sound was which came from the drawing-room. " That " said his host " is the laughter of William Temple : he is reading *The Defendant* for the first time." If anyone has been interested in it by this article, I shall have incidentally done that person a great kindness. He will find in it not only much sense and courage and wit, but the perfection of paradox.

(*The author is Headmaster of Dean Close School, Cheltenham.*)

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

ZIONISM AND THE REPUBLIC OF ISRAEL

By Owen Tweedy

FOR over thirty centuries now Palestine has been in the news ; but at no time more intensely than during the last thirty years. For those thirty years have seen such vast changes and have been politically so provocative that they inevitably produced books. Books of all sorts. Books in which authors have honestly advocated their own solutions of the Palestine problem ; secondly, books which, less honestly, wrote up the rights and qualities of one party to the detriment of the other ; and lastly—a much smaller category—books written objectively and of permanent historical value. Again, many have been written for—or rather—at a special, as distinct from a general public—some to influence British Parliamentary opinion; others to catch votes in an American election ; others to encourage Jewish contributions to Zionist funds. Indeed of Palestine since 1918 it may be said : " Of making of many books there is no end " and to-day it is the hard task of a reviewer to attempt to assess whether a new book achieves permanent historical success or whether it has only ephemeral purpose and value.

This survey deals with three books written since the State of Israel came into existence on May 14, 1948, *The Republic of Israel* by Doctor Joseph Dunner*; *Contemporary Jewry* by Israel Cohen†, and *Fifty Years of Zionism* by Oscar Rabinowicz‡. Of them the third is an expansion of three lectures given by Dr. Rabinowicz last year to the Zionist Study Group in London. It tooth-combs Dr. Weizmann's autobiography *Trial and Error* in a piercing analysis of the history of Zionist achievements. As such it will have Jewish parochial interest but less appeal among the general reading public.

Doctor Dunner's and Mr. Cohen's books would also appear to be written for another special public—the American public. Both authors—especially Doctor Dunner—are very caustic about British policy particularly since Mr. Bevin took charge of Palestine affairs ; and it is sad that this undisguised political animus has forbidden practically all reference to the lasting good achieved in Palestine by the much-castigated British Mandatory Administration.

All this is perhaps natural as the emphasis in both books is first, to give a history of Jewry from earliest days ; secondly to state the case for the Jewish State from evidence dating back to early in 1919, and thirdly to publicize Jewish achievement up to 1948.

The historical sections, particularly the story of Doctor Herzl and the foundation of the Zionist Organization, are admirably written, and have permanent historical quality. So also the statement of the case for a Jewish State, while Mr. Cohen's account of Nazi persecuted Jewry is most poignantly and convincingly written. But the chapters describing the rôle played by Jews in the public services and in the sciences and arts are often laboured and tedious, while the story of Jewish effort in the two world wars will have only limited appeal and are open to criticism on points of detail. But, all in all, both books will evoke interest in many and

*McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York. $4.75.
†Methuen. 25s.
‡Robert Anscombe. 7s. 6d. net.

different quarters and for many and different reasons. For they are able narratives about an ably conducted movement.

Jewish readers will welcome them for the endless " talking points " they provide. To a lesser degree the same will be true in the case of Christian readers whose views on Palestine are largely based on Bible study. British readers, too, particularly the politically-minded among them, will readily and with interest follow the unwinding of the author's narrative. But their interest may well become tinged with a certain malaise. For the bitterness of the failure of the British Mandate is rubbed in with undiluted ruthlessness by both authors, and, secondly, their account of Zionist political and diplomatic strategy dating from Doctor Herzl's famous dictum of 1898 that he directed his eyes towards England " because I saw that by reason of the general situation of things there, it was the Archimedean point where the lever could be applied," somehow conveys the cynical conclusion that, throughout Zionism allotted to Britain the rôle of a stalking-horse rather than that of a humanitarian collaborator in a great project. Indeed the normal British reader may be forgiven if he lays down both books with the impression that Zionism in its triumph has " written off " not only the value of early British assistance to the movement and in the foundation of the Jewish National Home, but also the possibility that Britain can be of any further use, even as a stalking-horse in the consolidation of the State of Israel.

And so we come to possible Arab reactions to both books. Their authors have—perhaps with purpose or, more probably, by instinct—written down the Arabs and their outlook and their aspirations and their policy and their strategy in a manner—at best patronizing—which Arabs everywhere must profoundly resent. And yet Doctor Dunner and Mr. Cohen both freely admit the vital importance to the Republic of Israel of Arab collaboration. Neither book is likely to contribute towards such collaboration. And that is a serious thought at this time when the two parties are being urged by the United Nations to make peace—a Middle East peace which, for reasons applying internationally no less than parochially, is as important to the general community of the world as it is to Israel and the Arab States. The issues in dispute are extremely delicate—the Arab refugees, the frontiers of Israel and Jerusalem. All three problems are firmly handled by both Doctor Dunner and Mr. Cohen. But from a purely Zionist standpoint, and with a rigidity which more resembles the ultimatum of a victor than a basis for discussion and future understanding.

That brings me back to my *point de départ*. Are Doctor Dunner's and Mr. Cohen's books sound contributions to history ? I hardly think so. Both are fluent and comprehensive additions to Palestinean literature ; but both are too emotional and partisan to be real history.

SEVEN FALLEN PILLARS, by Jon Kimche. *Secker and Warburg.* 15*s.*

In his introduction Mr. Kimche announces that the aim of this book is to tell the story of the Middle East during the five immediate post-war years in the course of which the British lost their paramount position and their dream of creating a great united empire of forty million Arabs came to nought. The author is a well-known journalist and it would appear that few methods of acquiring information are hid from his enterprising spirit. His acquaintance with Middle-Eastern personalities must be enormous and it is clear that he has the secret of acquiring the confidence of his ' contacts '. He also seems to have been lucky in obtaining access to documents which normally would be buried deep in top-secret archives.

Mr. Kimche's real theme is the bankruptcy of the policy of the Foreign Office in the Middle East and he tells the sad story with uncommon gusto.

Nor, if one judges by results alone, is he wrong in concluding that H.M. Government have indeed been ill-inspired in their policies and expedients during recent years. To-day we have not a single friend or admirer left among the Governments of the Middle East (with the possible exception of King Abdullah), although many individuals in Arab countries and in Israel look forward to a day when the old friendship and confidence will be re-established.

Mr. Kimche holds that one of the main reasons why our diplomacy has failed is that we have continued with childlike confidence to lean on the wealthy oligarchs, who have held power in Egypt for several generations and who in other Arab countries succeeded to power, when the masterful Turk had to go. Moreover, not content with courting the Pashas, whose interest in their under-privileged fellow-citizens is seldom strong enough to produce any serious reforms, we have ignored the influences—greatest among them the Russian revolution—which have for a generation been stirring the masses to a desire for a better life. Such is the burden of Mr. Kimche's song and there is much more than a substratum of truth in his argument, though it ignores a great deal done in the way of social reform by or through the British.

The most interesting part of this book is that describing the last days of the Palestine mandate and the birth of the Jewish State. The author was an eye-witness of the later phases of this thrilling piece of history and his story will tally with the memories of those who lived through those gloomy but exciting days, however much they may disagree with some of his estimates of personalities and policies. Mr. Kimche is not a flatterer and, apart from the Jewish leaders in whom, and rightly, he finds much to praise, he has little good to say of the numerous players in the Middle Eastern troupe. King Abdullah and Sir Alec Kirkbride are privileged exceptions. His condemnation of the murder of Count Bernadotte —a hellish crime—strikes one as somewhat half-hearted.

This book will be read with joy and approval by Anglophobes all the world over and with interest and appreciation by many Britons.

R. M. Graves.

STUDIES IN REVOLUTION, by E. H. Carr. *Macmillan.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

A HISTORY OF THE U.S.S.R., by Andrew Rothstein. *Penguin Books.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

The connecting link between these two books is that, while Professor Carr's is a series of properly academic studies of revolution and revolutionaries, Mr. Rothstein applies the technique of revolutionary propaganda with a good deal of academic skill to the study of a historical subject. Professor Carr's principal object is to help the reader to understand the Russian Revolution, Mr. Rothstein's —consciously or unconsciously—to persuade him to accept it as part of the order of things in the best of all possible Marxist worlds. The main value of Professor Carr's work is that within a small compass, and without making any very severe demands either on the time or the knowledge of the educated general reader, it will enable him or her to understand many of the tensions and conflicts within the revolutionary movement; the main danger of Mr. Rothstein's is that his wide knowledge and magisterial manner may lead the less sophisticated to regard his work as what, despite its many merits, it certainly is not, namely an objective historical study.

Of Professor Carr's fourteen essays, two are devoted specifically to Marshal Stalin and one to Lenin; none in terms to Marx. Yet these three figures, the prophet Marx, the leader Lenin, and the organizer Stalin, in fact dominate the book, so that the sympathetic and critical studies of such men as Saint Simon, Proudhon, Herzen, and Plekhanov seem to be ancillary to the

thought and work of these three greater figures. It would be impossible to do justice to this book without making clear, as the Preface itself does, that it is a collection of previously published material, for otherwise the selection of certain of the subjects and the omission of others would call for remark : if Saint Simon, why not Owen ? If Herzen, why not Engels ? If Sorel, why not Trotsky ? But in truth the more relevant comment is that the singular unity of Professor Carr's thought emerges from this miscellany, which is of a type that so often manifests an author's inconsistencies. The intellectual victory of dialectical materialism over Utopianism and the political ousting of the perhaps more orthodox Marxist Mensheviks by the authoritarian Bolsheviks are made the occasion for an analytical survey both of the strength and of the difficulties and contradictions inherent in Marxism ; the place of free will in materialist theory, the problems posed by the attempt to effect a proletarian and socialist revolution in a country with a large peasantry and without the background of a *bourgeois* revolution such as England's in 1689 and France's in 1789, and by the establishment, contrary to Marxist theory, of a bureaucratic and lasting Communist State, are some of the principal underlying themes. There seems to be room now for a study of the waning of Marxism, with, on the one hand, the growing number of moderate socialists who openly reject it, and, on the other, the tacit repudiation of several of its basic tenets by its conscious exponents. Professor Carr does not make this suggestion ; but these studies of his lead up to it.

No difficulty of this kind, of course, troubles Mr. Rothstein. Whilst his account of the causes of the Revolution, of the formation of the Soviet Union and of the years that followed it is to a large extent unexceptionable, provided that the reader understands and takes account of the writer's purely materialist sense of values, directly any question arises that has any bearing, however remote, on current controversies the advocate steps into the historian's shoes ; though even in the account of the civil war the blandly ruthless justification of the murder of the Czar's family takes a little stomaching. It goes without saying that Mr. Rothstein should magnify the part of the Soviet Union in the late war and decry that of its Allies. It is characteristic that he should make the somewhat surprising statement that: "It is now known from the revelations of the leading German generals that Hitler expressly forbade them to attack the British Army at Dunkirk, and never had the remotest intention of attempting to invade Britain " and not quote a single primary source in support. This book, in short, may be useful though scarcely necessary for the reader who has the equipment to distinguish between the history and the special pleading, but it will be a snare and a delusion for the reader who has not.

W. T. WELLS.

THE ENGLISH INHERITANCE, by G. Kitson Clark. *S.C.M. Press.* 15*s.*

" This book is intended ", the author says, " to be an essay on the effects of the Christian religion on the English inheritance." It is a task that could of course have been undertaken equally well for any country in Europe, and Mr. Kitson Clark makes no special claims for England. He aims to show how Christianity is mixed up with the ideas of law, tolerance and freedom as we understand them here, and he carries his task through with a handsome play of sentence and much apposite illustration, mainly from the seventeenth century onwards.

From a moderate churchman and a conservative, which is what the author claims to be, there is extremely little special pleading. " Hatred ", he says in one passage, commenting on the relations between dissent and the establishment in the early nineteenth

century, " was part of the legacy that Christianity bequeathed to England." Yet, with due modesty, the influence of the country's religion is brought out. One sees it in Blackstone, writing of sovereignty, the power of king and parliament working in conjunction ; it is " supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority." Having erected this formidable power, Blackstone, with that curious contempt of logic which is a national boast, sought to limit the illimitable. There were " rights which God and nature have established . . . such as are life and liberty . . . no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them, unless the owner shall himself commit some act that amounts to a forfeiture." The thought of the divine law-giver has acted as a curb on English law-makers whether in the courts or in Parliament.

The influence of puritanism, the factory reform led by Shaftesbury, the tempering of barbarism by public school religion—and many other points are fascinatingly discussed. The author sometimes seizes on what might easily be overlooked, as when he considers the effects on English character of Toplady's " Rock of Ages ", Wesley's " Jesu, Lover of my Soul " and " When I survey the wondrous Cross " by Isaac Watts.

The book launches no conclusive argument. That England and Christianity were profoundly mixed until recent years is well known. There is no claim in these pages, however, that Christianity made England. Many influences, those of Greece and Rome for example, have played their part. Nor was the Christian mixture entirely beneficial, for the Church of England, clasped in the necessity of history, allied itself with the established orders, hindering its mission even to this day. But the book's point is not difficult to take. Remove the influence of

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Child Care

The report of a special committee of the Scottish Advisory Council which has been investigating the conditions and problems of children's homes managed by both voluntary and local authorities in Scotland. 9d. (10d.)

Hong Kong, 1949

Unsettled conditions in the Far East have focussed public attention upon the British territories in the area. The annual report of the colony nearest to China is therefore of particular interest at this time. Illustrated. 10s. (10s. 5d.)

Prices in brackets include postage

HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

York House, Kingsway, London W.C.2 ; 429 Oxford Street, London W.1. (Post Orders: P.O. Box 569, London S.E.1.); 13A Castle Street, Edinburgh 2 ; 39 King Street, Manchester 2 ; 2 Edmund Street, Birmingham 3 ; 1 St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff ; Tower Lane, Bristol 1 ; 80 Chichester Street, Belfast ;
or through any bookseller.

Christian belief, take away the notion of a divine law behind earthly laws, let the hymns go unsung and the scriptures be unread—and what in English minds at present exists to fill the gap and give strength in that wearing conflict of the spirit which at present tears the world ?

WALTER JAMES.

A CRITIQUE OF LOGICAL POSITIVISM, by C. E. M. Joad. *Gollancz.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

From being crude and *outré* in the 1930's logical posivitism has by 1950 become sophisticated. Its central tenet, the celebrated ' verification principle ' has been carefully dressed so that it may gain admittance into circles where it is hoped it will exercise a salutary influence. The doctrine that an ostensible statement of fact is meaningful only if it is, in principle, susceptible of sensible verification seemed to most on its first promulgation to restrict human knowledge to a pretty narrow sensism.

Latterly, however, many of its adherents and sympathizers have appeared rather anxious to dispel any such idea and the doctrine has become astonishingly liberal and flexible. True it still is, that if a statement is to be factually significant it must entail an observable difference in the course and content of experience, but that, it now appears, may be many removes away, and consequently does not preclude one from introducing terms that in themselves do not refer to anything sensibly observable, yet constitute ' good sense ', provided that the statements embodying such terms ultimately entail possible observational differences.

Professor Ayer's contention that the positivist criterion implies that no statement concerning a reality "transcending possible sense-experience" can be literally significant is really "rather misleading" according to Professor Findlay, since "it is plain" that he only means by such a transcendent reality one from the presence of which you could not infer " even one single peculiar, trivial, faintly probable, empirical consequence."

As for the idea of reducing statements concerning physical objects to strictly observational terms, it has long been apparent that it is a purely ideal programme. It certainly seems to the outsider as it does to Mr. Wisdom (who is more intimately acquainted than most with the metamorphoses of the verification principle) that " the poor thing is not what it was " and not a few will also echo him (if maybe for rather different reasons) when he finds it " quite incapable of eliminating metaphysics." Perhaps, then, it is not really so surprising after all that a writer should have just come forward in *Mind* with the proposal that Christian theologians should accept the verification principle as a means of increasing their effectiveness in presenting Christian doctrines.

The scope of Dr. Joad's critique is determined by the circumstances that prompted him to undertake it—an article from a contributor to the *New Statesman* raising the question of the moral and political repercussions of logical positivism and referring to Professor Ayer's *Language, Truth and Logic* as having "acquired almost the status of a philosophic Bible." Dr. Joad's book is, in fact, a detailed criticism of that work in its highly intransigent original form, published in 1936. The altogether milder doctrine of the revised version of 1948 is not what " interests students ", he avers. " What has struck *their* imagination is the grandeur of the original assertion that metaphysics *is* nonsense." Unfortunately, Dr. Joad is a decade late in his efforts to disabuse them.

PETER STUBBS.

THE MAN FROM NAZARETH, by Harry Emerson Fosdick. *S.C.M. Press.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

This book is an expansion of a quotation from Dr. Major : " It is the task of Gospel Criticism to make our-

selves the contemporaries of Jesus." The average contemporary reader of the Gospels almost inevitably reads them through modern eyes, and so he finds them often rather confusing, lacking order and continuity, sometimes rather taxing his standard of what is credible, yet always presenting him with a majestic and dominating figure—if only he could discern it more clearly.

Dr. Fosdick does a very great deal to help such a reader. He takes various groups of people around the Master—his disciples, the Scribes and Pharisees, the self-complacent, the religious and moral outcasts, women and children—tells us what were their particular outlook and sets of values and then tells us how these various groups of people saw Jesus, and what they saw in him. By this process, he achieves two main results : one, he orders and clears up a great deal of the confusion which the untrained reader finds in the Gospels, and, the other, he shows why, to-day, the appeal of Jesus is as strong as ever; a common human nature, with identical needs, fears, sins and aspirations is in us to-day as was in his contemporaries of two thousand years ago. Only the externals, the " labels " have changed ; essentials remain, and, to all, the Master remains " Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and to-day and for ever." The whole work is vividly alert and alive, and a very considerable scholarship leaves no trace of heaviness or dullness. He is perhaps particularly good in his chapters on the Scribes and Pharisees—showing how the latter had so much in common with Jesus that conflict between them was bound to be particularly acute—on the disciples, and on the self-complacent. But all are very good, though one may regret that Pontius Pilate is not included ; he, surely, saw something in Jesus which his contemporaries did not and quite other than can be satisfied by Anatole France's easy cynicism in his celebrated " *Le Procurateur de Judeé.*"

One very obvious limitation of the book may be self-imposed ; at no

SIGMUND FREUD

THREE ESSAYS ON THE THEORY OF SEXUALITY 10/6

First English edition of this classic.

THE QUESTION OF LAY ANALYSIS 9/-

Perhaps the best answer to the question " What shall I read of Freud ? "

ANNA FREUD

THE PSYCHO-ANALYTIC TREATMENT OF CHILDREN 10/6

2nd Edition

MARIE BONAPARTE

MYTHS OF WAR 10/6

An examination of unconscious mechanisms released in civilians and combatants by war.

THE LIFE & WORKS OF EDGAR ALLAN POE 35/-

(*Foreword by Freud.* 26 *Plates.* 760 *pp.*)

" . . the most voluminous . . . Freudian analysis yet published of any literary figure . . a brilliant performance . . . "
New Statesman.

K. R. EISSLER (Ed.)

SEARCHLIGHTS ON DELINQUENCY 30/-

" . . . full of new matter by a body of experts which well deserves its significant title . . . "—*The Medical Officer.*

MONTAGU SUMMERS (Ed.)

MALLEUS MALEFICARUM 15/-

First cheap edition of this famous and remarkable book.

IMAGO PUBLISHING CO. LTD.
10, Nottingham Place, London, W.1

point in it is there mention of the Resurrection. Those parts of the Gospels which refer to it are ignored ; and the main preaching of the earliest Apostles was not, *pace* Dr. Fosdick " Christ was the Messiah " ; it was " Christ is risen." They proclaimed not a great Teacher but a risen Master ; it all depended on that, and they worked backwards from that.

The book is very well supplied with notes, references and bibliography.

JOHN HALET.

ROADS TO RUIN, by E. S. Turner. *Michael Joseph.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

In this valuable and entertaining book Mr. Turner describes how twelve movements for social reform achieved success in this country during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Though all brought about important changes for the better in British social life, all were stubbornly opposed as leading to national disaster—as being so many " roads to ruin ".

One of the earliest and most noteworthy prohibited the employment of child labour in chimney sweeping. It was long the usual practice for children of seven or eight years or younger to crawl up chimneys to scrape away the accumulated soot. The agitation to prohibit this practice was begun in 1773 by Jonas Hanway, the inventor of the umbrella, and by 1817, when it had been shown that all but a few difficult chimneys could be swept by the methods now in use, bills began to be introduced into Parliament to stop this kind of child labour. All were successfully opposed until 1875, when, after public opinion had been roused by some specially revolting fatalities among the children while at work in chimneys, Lord Shaftesbury secured the passage of the Chimney Sweepers Act. The tragedy of the " climbing boys " was long regarded with strange apathy by the public. Even to the sensitive spirit of Charles Lamb it seemed a matter of course that children should be so exposed to the risk of a hideous death :

> I like to meet a sweep—understand me—not a grown sweeper—but one of those tender novices blooming through their first nigritude . . . such as come forth with dawn, or somewhat earlier, with their little professional notes sounding like the *peep-peep* of a young sparrow. . . . I reverence . . . these almost clergy imps, who sport their cloth without assumption ; and from their little pulpits (the tops of chimneys), in the nipping air of a December morning preach a lesson of patience to mankind.

The latest of the reforms described by Mr. Turner is the introduction of daylight saving, which was the result of a one-man agitation conducted by William Willett, a prosperous builder of houses. He early formed the habit of taking horse exercise at 7 a.m. near his Chislehurst home, and became convinced that it was folly to sleep during that time of day. Early in the century he began to devote much energy to making converts to his views, one of the first being King Edward VII, who had the clocks at Sandringham put forward half an hour. The first bill to institute daylight saving was introduced into Parliament in 1908, but it was not until May 21, 1916, that its object was secured. Germany and Austria had adopted daylight saving three weeks earlier, and their action was seriously put forward in Parliament as a good reason why it should not be adopted in Britain.

Mr. Turner has a restrained pen, and in handling his material maintains a sense of proportion. He warns us that to our descendants a hundred years hence some of the things we do now may seem as deplorable as the things abolished by the reforms he describes. As instances, he mentions our failure to prevent the disfigurement of the countryside and the prevalence of road casualties. Our descendants, he says, " may think that the indifference of the nineteenth century to death and suffering in the mills was fully matched by that of the twentieth century to death and suffering on the highways."

G. F. MCCLEARY.

THE WRITER'S SITUATION, and Other Essays, by Storm Jameson. *Macmillan.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

In place of the word " situation " in Miss Jameson's title we should, unhappily, read something like " dilemma " ; for most of her essays examine, from one or another aspect, the position of the writer in a tangled and unpromising social network. It is not that the writer is the only sufferer, but that he is called upon—if he is more than an entertainer of some charm and ability—to be articulate about it. Looking at the contemporary state of beliefs and non-beliefs, especially where poet and novelist must mould or be moulded by them, Miss Jameson is not afraid to ask a number of leading questions. These are not the less disturbing for being the familiar problems of the present age. They hang like an Aeolian harp in the window, and the breeze of apprehension—or indeed the croaking gale of pessimism—twangs their strings. What, precisely, is the liberty we began fighting for in 1939 ? How can man live individually in a machine age ? Is he in fact to survive, and how can he have the courage to rebuild on the ruins of so much that had seemed essential ?

In undertaking to tackle these and other queries in terms of the writer's responsibility Miss Jameson wisely broadens her field to seek authority beyond herself and often outside her country. As a former President of the P.E.N. Club one of her best assets is an international outlook. On the general and human side she is able to draw hope and sustenance from her own observation of the resilience of the Poles. In the matter of intellect and philosophy she turns to contemporary French writers as a source of light. The idea of the French as the most cultured of European races is in no danger of dying an early death, and it has long been a mark of the civilized Englishman to have some understanding and appreciation of the Frenchman's way of life. Thus, Miss Jameson is at her soundest

SOME OUTSTANDING AUTUMN BOOKS

THE ROAD TO OXIANA
Robert Byron
A handsome reprint of this stimulating travel book by the author of *The Station*, with new plates and an introduction by David Talbot-Rice.
Ready 15*s.*

VIEWS OF ATTICA
Rex Warner
Impressions of Greece by a poet and distinguished novelist and scholar, who spent many years as Director of the British Institute in Athens. It is superbly illustrated.
November. 15*s.*

THE AMERICAN GENIUS
Edith Sitwell is already known as an original, indeed inspired anthologist and in this volume she has made a discerning selection from the enormous range of American poetry. Dr. Sitwell contributes an interesting introduction.
Nov./Dec. 12*s.* 6*d.*

A VAGRANT
David Gascoyne
A new volume of poems by this outstanding young British poet, whose first volume was so highly praised some years ago.
November 6*s.*

THE MYSTERY OF EDWIN DROOD
Charles Dickens
" Mr. Michael Innes has written a brilliant introduction to the new Chiltern Library edition ". *Sunday Times.* With the original illustrations by Luke Fildes.
Ready 8*s.* 6*d.*

JOHN LEHMANN

in discussing the genius of André Malraux or assessing the intangible richness of his nation. She writes :

> I believe that the French concept of man—a being who needs bread, wine and leisure more profoundly than he needs speed and efficiency—is a living concept. From it civilization could be re-grafted. It offers the one hope we have of closing the gap. . . . between our ingenuity and our nature.

When Miss Jameson abandons the support of France and internationalism in favour of still broader generalities she is inclined to over-reach the limit of sound extension and dissolve in vagueness. And for one whose heart is always in the right place and whose judgment—as in the essay on W. H. Auden—is not far behind, she can be oddly perverse and irritating to her readers. Her usually catholic outlook has its blind spots. Why harbour such a prejudice against Henry James as to assume that his admirers must demolish Tolstoy ?

It may be this distrust of literary stylists that leads her too frequently into a straggling untidiness of presentation. This emerges in both form and content. In form, a superman's memory is demanded for reading double-decker sentences that break off half way through an argument to admit, within parentheses, another loosely-related and equally knotted problem. In content, Miss Jameson tends to stir up past with present, writing for instance of the novel of self-centred sensitivity, which surely belongs to the twenties, as a contemporary defect. To speak of the atom bomb as bringing history to an end savours of popular sentimentalism and inaccurate thinking. When Miss Jameson does not allow herself to write too easily her thoughts take a far more incisive and distinctive shape. If these essays do not pretend to solve humanity's riddles they do at least militate against apathy and urge a challenging response to what is seen as the threat of a new Dark Age.

SYLVA NORMAN.

MILTON AND WORDSWORTH, by H. J. C. Grierson. *Chatto & Windus.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

NEW BEARINGS IN ENGLISH POETRY, by F. R. Leavis. *Chatto & Windus.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

These two reprints make a most interesting contrast, and both are more worth reading now, I think, than in the 'thirties when they appeared—though for different reasons. The war and the present trend of events has caused many more people to wonder what they believe in, and what is worth believing in ; and to consider more deeply their nature as humans, political, moral and religious. The political-emotional problems of Milton and Wordsworth, and of the worlds they lived in, seem far nearer to us now in 1950 than they did twenty years ago. When Sir Herbert Grierson refers to Milton as a Bolshevist it seems an exact parallel. To many minds conditioned by the last decade the logical, tolerant, liberal approach of Sir Herbert Grierson to his subject seems infinitely refreshing, and he performs that office of good criticism : he sends you back to the original, stimulated and excited and better informed, but still with an open mind.

His exposition of Milton's political pilgrimage is not intended to cause you to make some dogmatic moral judgment on Milton, to approve or condemn his beliefs in politics and religion, but simply to show how a political revolution affected him, how a chain of causation led to the writing of *Paradise Lost* ; as in Wordsworth's case it led to *The Prelude*. The argument is always well documented and supported by evidence. Where there is no evidence the author keeps an open mind . . . " Whatever one may think of Mr. Read's attempt to explain the whole of Wordsworth's life from the effects of this experience about which we know nothing, it is impossible to deny that wanting it the story told in *The Prelude* is incomplete." His fine scholarship combined with his implicit insistence that the artist is more

important than the critic make this a book more valuable than it was thirteen years ago.

Since then we have become more alert to the technique of Dr. Goebbels and his counterparts. It must be said that in Dr. Leavis, for all the value of what he has to say, we recognize now more clearly than we did in 1932, the shrill note of the party manifesto. This is not literary criticism at all, it is literary propaganda—with all its set-up of selection, omission, and false emphasis. For example, " the grave when described as ' The roots of the dark thorn ' suggests dew fragrance and fairies rather than death and decay." Now what in those words " the roots of the dark thorn " suggests dew fragrance and fairies? Only, I submit, Dr. Leavis' desire to belittle Walter de la Mare. What might not the phrase have suggested to him had it been written by T. S. Eliot ?

Dr. Leavis' arbitrary judgments, of Browning (" so inferior a mind and spirit as Browning's could not provide the impulse necessary to bring back into poetry the adult intelligence "), of Yeats (" his poetry is little more than a marginal comment on the main activities of his life "), of Hardy (" a naïve poet of simple attitudes and outlook ") do not quite lead logically to the statement that " the situation upon which Mr. Eliot impinged has now been fairly described." But there is little point in criticizing a writer for what he is not. Let us rather praise Dr. Leavis for his fanatical loyalty, bias, and skill, as propagandist to the literary dictatorship —of Dr. Leavis. (" . . . The dismissal of Spender, Day Lewis, MacNeice, George Barker, Dylan Thomas, has also been done critically in *Scrutiny*...") But in the same way as the Red Queen's constant " Off with his head ! " had no effect, so somehow, these poets seem to survive—perhaps realizing that Dr. Leavis has done without a head for more years than they.

PATRIC DICKINSON.

WITHOUT MAGNOLIAS, by Bucklin Moon. *Secker & Warburg.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

THE ASPHALT JUNGLE, by W. R. Burnett. *Macdonald.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

DARK GREEN, BRIGHT RED, by Gore Vidal. *Lehmann.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

THE WATERS OF WALLA, by Eden Phillpotts. *Hutchinson.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Three transatlantic novels to one British, the last by a grand old man of human and humorous entertainment, suggest that under present conditions the lot of the writer over here becomes increasingly and lamentably difficult. *Without Magnolias,* which is about the Negro's world, mostly in Florida, claims to give ' the *whole* panorama ', to be all-embracing in its treatment of the southern American Negroes ; and, although the book is too long, Mr. Moon writes with real warmth and a deep human understanding. His plea is the more effective in that he never protests too much, and he is most

HEFFER'S

of Cambridge

BOOKSELLERS

Secondhand & New English, European and American

Supply books, of general or the most specialised interest to all parts of the world

W. HEFFER & SONS Limited

CAMBRIDGE ENGLAND

skilful in bringing home the simple, decent humanity of the majority of coloured people, as well as the immense difficulty of even minimum reform. Speaking of jazz Ezekiel, the president of a Negro college, remarks, perhaps perspicaciously :

> Seems to me the Negro would do better to forget all that.... Oh it's a part of our past I don't think we can be too proud of. Things like that grew up in pretty rough places, brothels and the like. White folks are always saying we are latently criminal. It seems to me that such things out of our past give them added ammunition for that argument.

The Asphalt Jungle is an American crime novel, taut, realistic, concerning an exciting million dollar jewel robbery, that has already been made into a film. It is not a tale of mystery, for the outcome is never in doubt. But Mr. Burnett writes with a punch and pace, coupled with a firm gift for incisive character drawing that suggests a parallel with one or two of the earlier books of Graham Greene. The last minute arrest of Doc Riemenschneider, betrayed by his weakness for women, is both just and convincing. The book reads almost like a semi-documentary, and in its class is emphatically worth while.

Mr. Gore Vidal's *Dark Green, Bright Red*, considered as a product of the serious younger school of post-war American novelists, struck me as—despite its talent and vivid, intelligent patches of writing—unsuccessful, since it failed to move me apart from the narrative which is gripping enough. The tale is of an American officer cashiered from the U.S. Army who, through friendship with the son of a political leader, General Alvarez, becomes involved in building up an army of mixed Indian and white blood and fighting in a Central-American revolution with its exotic musical comedy atmosphere and situations. But the characters seem pasteboard, wanting life. After reading of callous love, hardship and death —the revolution fails through treachery, the General and his daughter escape by helicopter, and the hero makes a dash for the border—we are left wondering what it all adds up to ; with a sigh for *Nostromo*. There are some tediously long intimate soliloquies, which impede the action. It is all brilliant, varied, and quite unsympathetic. If Mr. Vidal should care to look deeper, and find less cynicism and more humanity, he might write a first class novel. He has nearly all the cards. This book is able and lacking.

Mr. Phillpotts needs no introduction to his many readers. Here in *The Waters of Walla* is the old sly humour, the human home-spun of life's interests, against a background of eternity. " I'd demand to mark time, certainly, and you'll demand to mark time, I should think. Us Devonshire folk are always famous for marking time, and we fare no worse for that." This story of life in the Devon village of Wallabrook, with its amusingly contrasted characters, moves slowly enough and some of the scenes may be thought to be unduly protracted. But if we are prepared to read it in leisure hours, with a mind at peace, there is much good entertainment to be had, and we shall find we know the people. There is the power of evocative description too, as in the final sentence about an elderly couple who have gone off to live in Australia : " I lay they'll oft croon together over Wallabrook, of an evening when their day's work's done and the night down and the kangaroos hopping round about in the darkness, and moths so big as soup plates humming in the orange blossom."

JOSEPH BRADDOCK.

It was of course Mr. John Carswell, the son of Catherine Carswell, who collected his mother's papers in *Lying Awake* (Secker & Warburg. 15s.) and not Donald, her late husband, whose name appeared in the notice of the book in the August number of THE FORTNIGHTLY.

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

It is possible to be watching the front door so intently that the burglar is able to prise his way into the back, quietly ransack the place and, for good measure, crack your skull on the way out . . . only that householders are not usually unwary enough to let it happen. Governments can and do apparently. With the basic stupidity of the criminal, their burglar is not too good at disguise. But them he fools, and, being a professional, he has typically two names.

"Till the night is gone"

That Fascism and Communism are only aliases for the one brute force, our legislators—being frightened—are in danger of forgetting. The publicists, too, often more deliberately hysterical it seems, scream at Bolshevism as though Belsen had never been. All courting of illiberal régimes, all hints of arming Germans and Japanese to put a gloss on their former behaviour, are the prostitution of democracy or, in plainer English, are the doing of evil that good may come, against which we have been so sensibly warned. I UNDERSTAND THE RISKS by Norman Bentwich (*Gollancz.* 10*s.* 6*d.*) is a sharp reminder of the tyranny of Fascism, even as it tells the story of 10,000 members of the British forces who joined in the war against it. Many of them children at the time, they had fled with thousands of others from the beastliness of Hitler to the England which used its traditional privilege of granting asylum to refugees. Nevertheless, in the topsy-turvydom of crisis behaviour, when the war began they were inevitably classed as "enemy aliens" and interned. After the "impersonal malice" of the machine had merged into something like perspective the "King's Own Loyal Enemy Aliens" were drafted to the Pioneer Corps and in 1943 to the army as a whole. Their exploits as commandos, in the Parachute Regiment, in the infantry, the armoured formations and in Intelligence, made them, with their language advantages and knowledge of terrains, the pathfinders. The experiment justified itself; these now British citizens made a contribution, as Lord Reading says in the Foreword, "of courage, efficiency and technical skill" which at the same time "restored to the men an asset so easily lost by refugees, their self-respect."—— Another fugitive is Vincent Sheean who in LEAD, KINDLY LIGHT (*Cassell.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) describes how the frustration following "long years of struggle against the tribal ideas bound up in the word Fascism—first as a writer and then in the army" sent him to India for an answer to the puzzle of living. He thinks he found it at the feet of Gandhi, whose followers were better Muslims or better Christians because of him, the greatest of all Hindus. Mr. Sheean learnt that worship is more important than the form it takes, and communicates the experience of peace, that comes from being able to say, in the words of Gandhi's favourite Christian hymn :

> I loved to choose and see my path; but now
> Lead Thou me on

in a way to fill the reader with a kind of wistful envy. The Mahatma's reputation is due for tarnishing by smaller minds; meanwhile, his personality is a kindly light indeed to brighten and warm this book—and to survive detraction.

The Elia of youth

Yet another refugee, this time from the shadow of death, has lately come through a period of disparagement and neglect. The B.B.C. is making vicarious amends in its radio commemoration of ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON 1850-1950 (*British Broadcasting Corporation.* 1*s.*) which has an Introduction by Robert Dunnett and essays on the various aspects of Stevenson's work and travels by Sir Herbert Grierson, John Keir

Cross, Moray McLaren and John Connell, with T. S. Allan's "R.L.S. and the School-age Audience" and a complete programme of the numerous centenary broadcasts. These embrace plays from the novels and stories, with "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" on television (where a lot of trick photography is expected to effect the transformation; nothing less—such as walking out of camera range and reappearing "masked", as the butler called it—will do), readings, talks and features both in the Home and the Scottish Home Services.——*Macdonald*, not to be outdone, have added to the admirable illustrated classics series THE ESSAYS OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON, with an Introduction by Malcolm Elwin, and DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE AND OTHER STORIES BY R. L. STEVENSON, Introduced by Compton Mackenzie (*9s. 6d. each*). Both are handsomely illustrated and it is good to see collected under one roof, as it were, such favourites as "Talk and Talkers", "A Plea for Gas Lamps" and the piece which appeared in THE FORTNIGHTLY of April 1881, "The Morality of the Profession of Letters", so characteristic of the man who had been known to refuse the fee agreed upon if his work failed to pass his own test of excellence. Re-reading "Books which have influenced me" and "On Some Technical Elements of Style in Literature" induces an uneasy suspicion, not for the first time, that one might have been an unbearable prig when young, so vivid is the recollection of the unqualified pleasure they gave. And, turning to the stories (prefaced by all the vigour, eloquence and provocativeness of Compton Mackenzie), one gets the old delicious "shudder of the blood" from the title tale and the further reflection that the child who enjoyed it so much (when psychology no more than sex was mentioned in polite society) must have been a morbid little horror as well. Children, we are told, still like reading R. L. S. Good for them, and for him—and so much the worse for the grown ups who do not.

Educations

It is easy to like, too, the LAST ESSAYS OF G. M. YOUNG (*Rupert Hart-Davis. 9s. 6d.*), so easy that the title has a disconcerting ring. But happily predictions seldom come true. Whether he is writing—so satisfyingly—in the introduction on what makes good prose, or on "Basic", or on "The Liberal Mind in Victorian England" or on "The Heathen Men", Mr. Young is never arrogant, never a pedant, although his "landscape is historic" as he says, and his erudition great. The secret of his attraction seems to be a concise style allied with bottomless humanity.——When, writing of Pushkin, he says "there is no trace of that ill-conditioned schoolboy who sometimes steals Byron's pen," the eye perforce turns hurriedly to the less romantic but indispensable PUBLIC AND PREPARATORY SCHOOLS YEAR BOOK 1950 (*Adam & Charles Black. 15s.*) which occupies a large space on the table. Yet charm and history are implicit even here, in the names of founders, and in the traditional curricula of the schools. There are also practical details of fees, headmasters and their qualifications, of bed and board, of scholarships and of games, to help the inquiring parent. That the help has been satisfactory is testified by the fact that this is the 61st year of the volume's issue.

Paths to Rome

But it is time to pack—for Venice, and later for Florence, with a bare three days (promised by the Trevi Fountain) in Rome again. The rest of the books must be left until November, except Eric Whelpton's BY ITALIAN SHORES (*Evans. 9s. 6d.*) which recalls so exactly last year's west coast travel from Genoa to Naples, from Portofino to Amalfi, from Rapallo to Capri, that a warm tribute to the book's photographs and to its author's awareness of the beauty and the legendary atmosphere of Italy, cannot be postponed.

GRACE BANYARD.

ADVERTISEMENT AND BUSINESS OFFICES: 4, 5 & 6, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W.1.
PUBLISHED FOR THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, LTD., BY HORACE MARSHALL & SON, LTD.,
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY GEERINGS OF ASHFORD, LTD., 80, HIGH STREET, ASHFORD, KENT.
Publishing Department, Temple House, Tallis Street, E.C.4.
PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.